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ART. I. *A series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind; each Passion being the Subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy.* By Joanna Baillie. Vol. II. London. 1802.

THESE plays require a double criticism; first, as to the merit of the peculiar plan upon which they are composed; and, secondly, as to their own intrinsic excellence.

To such peculiar plans, in general, we confess that we are far from being partial; they necessarily exclude many beauties, and ensure nothing but constraint: the only plan of a dramatic writer should be, to please and to interest as much as possible; but when, in addition to this, he resolves to write upon nothing but scriptural subjects, or to imitate the style of Shakspeare, or to have a siege, or the history of a passion in every one of his pieces, he evidently cuts himself off from some of the means of success, puts fetters upon the freedom of his own genius, and multiplies the difficulties of a very arduous undertaking.

The writer of the pieces before us, has espoused the patronage of what she has been pleased to call *characteristic truth*, the great charm of dramatic composition; and, in order to magnify its importance, has degraded all the other requisites of a perfect drama to the rank of very weak and unprofitable auxiliaries. With a partiality not at all unusual in the advocates of a peculiar system, she admits, indeed, that a play may have qualities that give nearly as much pleasure; but maintains, that this is altogether owing to the *folly* of mankind, and that if we were constituted as we ought to be, we should care very little for any thing but the just representation of character in our dramatic performances. This sentiment, we think, is pretty clearly expressed, in the following passage of the 'Introductory Discourse,' prefixed to the former volume.

'Our love of the grand, the beautiful, the novel, and, above all, of the marvellous, is very strong; and if we are richly fed with what we have a good relish for, we may be weaned to forget our native and favourite aliment: yet we can never so far forget it, but that we shall cling to, and acknowledge it again, whenever it is presented before us. In a work abounding with the marvellous and unnatural, if the author has any how stumbled upon an unsophisticated genuine stroke of nature, we shall immediately perceive, and be delighted with it; though we are *foolish enough*, at the same time, to admire all the nonsense with which it is surrounded.'

Now, we really cannot perceive why the admiration of novelty and grandeur should be considered as more foolish than the admiration of just sentiments, or consistent character. The same power that gave us a relish for the one, formed us to be delighted with the other; and the wisdom that guides us to the gratification of the first propensity, can scarcely condemn our indulgence in the second. Where the object is to give pleasure, nothing that pleases can be foolish; and a striking trait of character, or of nature, will only please the more, when it occurs in a performance which has already delighted us with its grandeur, its novelty, and its beauty. The skilful delineation of character is no doubt among the highest objects of the drama; but this has been so generally admitted, that it was the less necessary to undervalue all the rest. The true object of the drama, is to interest and delight; and this it can frequently accomplish, by incident, as effectually as by character. There are innumerable *situations* that excite our sympathy in the strongest degree, though the characters of those who are placed in them be left almost entirely to be filled up from our general conceptions of human nature. Mothers bereaved of their children; lovers separated or restored to each other; the young and valiant cut off by untimely deaths; tyrants precipitated from their thrones; and many other occurrences or representations, are capable of awakening the highest interest, and the most anxious curiosity, although the character should be drawn only with those vague and undistinguishing features that fancy has associated with the situation.

But, even if we could agree with Miss Baillie, that the striking delineation of character was the cardinal excellence of the drama, we should find great difficulty in admitting that her plan was the most likely to ensure its attainment. The peculiarity of that plan consists in limiting the interest of the piece, in a great degree, to the development of some one great passion in the principal character, and in exhibiting this passion in all the successive stages of its progress, from its origin to its final catastrophe. It

does not appear to us that either of these observances is well calculated to increase the effect of any dramatic production.

If any thing more is meant by limiting the interest of the piece to the consequences of a single passion, than is implied in the vulgar rules for preserving unity of character and of action, we are inclined to think that something more is meant than can very easily be justified. The old maxims evidently require the predominancy of certain motives in the minds of the leading characters, and a certain consistency in the sympathies that are excited by their fortunes. To carry these restrictions still farther, and to confine the whole interest of the story to the development of a single passion, seems to us to be altogether impracticable, and could not even be attempted, in a very imperfect degree, without violating that unity of action by which the general effect of the piece would be very materially impaired. To confine the attention, and tie down the sympathies to the observance of one master passion through a whole play, is plainly impossible; first, because that passion, in order to prove its strength, must have some other passion to encounter and overcome in the bosom where it is at last to reign; and, secondly, because a certain portion of our sympathy must necessarily be reserved for the fate and the feelings of those who are the objects and the victims of this ruling passion in the hero. The first partition of our sympathy is altogether unavoidable; and Miss Baillie herself has accordingly been forced to submit to it. *Count Basil* is distracted between love and a passion for military glory; and the interest and sympathy excited by the whole story, may be referred to the one passion just as properly as to the other. *De Montfort* is represented as struggling between a high sense of honour, and a frantic and disgraceful antipathy; nor could the latter have been made interesting in any degree, unless our sympathy had first been very powerfully engaged for the former. *Ethwald,* in like manner, is agitated by ambition, and gratitude, and personal attachment; and pleases us as much by his generosity and kind affections, as he terrifies us by the consequences of his thirst for power. The second division of interest that is claimed by those who inspire or oppose the domineering passion of the chief personage, is scarcely less necessary. We cannot easily sympathise with a lover, unless we take some concern in the object of his attachment; and are seldom much offended by the oppressions of a tyrant, when we do not enter very warmly into the feelings of those whom he oppresses. The only way in which the interest we take in the story can be in any degree engrossed by the hero, is to provide him with a succession of inferior patients and observers, through whom he moves in the grand career of his passion, and who are success-

ively forgotten for the sake of those who replace them. By this contrivance, which is but seldom practicable, it is very obvious, however, that the interest of the piece is impaired and dissipated, and the unity of the action entirely broken. Miss Baillie has had recourse to it in the tragedy that occupies so large a portion of the present volume; and every reader of Ethwald must acknowledge, that the interest of the play is exceedingly diminished by the constant introduction and renewal of the inferior characters; and that the catastrophe, which is accomplished by persons with whom we have scarcely any previous acquaintance, is but ill calculated to produce any strong or satisfactory impression.

The peculiarity of Miss Baillie's plan, however, does not consist so much in reducing any play to the exhibition of a single passion, as in attempting to comprehend within it a complete view of the origin, growth, and consummation of this passion, under all its aspects of progress and maturity. This plan seems to us almost as unpoetical as that of the bard who began the tale of the Trojan war from the egg of Leda; and really does not appear very well calculated for a species of composition, in which the time of the action represented has usually been more circumscribed than in any other. Miss Baillie, however, is of opinion, that it will turn out to be a very valuable discovery; and insists much upon the advantage that will be gained by adhering to it, both in the development of character, the increase of interest, and the promotion of moral improvement. We are afraid that these expectations are more sanguine than reasonable.

To delineate a man's character, by tracing the progress of his ruling passion, is like describing his person by the yearly admeasurement of his foot, or rather by a termly report of the increase of a wen, by which his health and his beauty are ultimately destroyed. A ruling passion distorts and deforms the character: and its growth, instead of developing that character more fully, constantly withdraws more and more of it from our view. The growth of the passion is not the growth of the mind; and its progress and symptoms are pretty conform, in whatever subject it may have originated. *Amor omnibus idem*, at least, says the poet; and it may fairly be admitted, that men become assimilated, by their common subjection to some master passion, who had previously been distinguished by very opposite characters. To delineate character, therefore, by the progress of such a passion, is like following a cloud of smoke, in order to discriminate more clearly the objects that it envelops.

These considerations are so very obvious, that though Miss Baillie has certainly talked a great deal about tracing a passion

from its origin, we are persuaded that she really did not expect much assistance from this maxim in the delineation of character. She has built, in general, upon a truer ground; and seems to have perceived very clearly the method of employing a predominating passion, so as to give brilliancy and effect to characteristic representation. This method, which, however, is by no means new, consists principally in the occassional introduction of the passion, or peculiar turn of mind, in transactions of inferior moment, and in circumstances where it does not serve at all to help forward the action of the piece. By this apparently accidental disclosure of consistency, a stamp of nature and reality is given to the whole delineation; and the glimpses that are thus caught of the hero, in the course of his ordinary deportment, serve, in a manner, to confirm those impressions that had been excited by his more studied and imposing appearances. In private life, and on trifling occasions, the splendid drapery of the passions is usually laid aside; and, if we are permitted to look in upon them in this situation, we fancy that we recognize their genuine features with less uncertainty. If care be taken, therefore, to relieve the glare and pomp of the main action, by the insertion of a few such casual incidents, we seem to be let into the interior of the character, and attain a certain familiarity with the chief personages, that renders our conception of their whole character much more lively, entire, and impressive. It is upon this principle, that the effect of most of the fine strokes of nature and character, which occur in the writings of the poets, will be found to depend; and it is a principle, that has been quite familiar to criticism, ever since it was illustrated by the ancient commentators of Homer.

But, though Miss Baillie has not overlooked this powerful instrument, for the development of characteristic effect, there is another, of still greater importance, which appears to be, in a good measure, excluded by her doctrine of the unity of passion. The art to which we now allude, is that by which an appearance of individual reality is communicated to an ideal personage, and the functions of a dramatic hero assigned to a living being, with the whole of whose capacities and dispositions we are made to feel that we are acquainted. This poetical deception, however, can never be accomplished by the display of a single passion, and cannot even take place, we should imagine, where such a display is made the chief object of our attention. It is to be effected, indeed, only by an occasional neglect and intermission of the principal action, and of the passions by which that action is forwarded; by the introduction of arbitrary and inconsiderable occurrences, and slight and transient indications of habits, senti-

ments, and feelings, that could not have been inferred from the conduct or emotions of the chief characters in the greater incidents of the piece. It is by these, and by these alone, that a definite object can be created for our sympathies to attach upon, and the true image of a living man be presented to our imagination. There is no man alive, of whose whole character we could judge merely from his conduct or expressions in some important transaction; and our sympathies are always but feebly excited for those with whose internal feelings we are so imperfectly acquainted. It is not enough, therefore, that the qualities bestowed upon our heroes be suitable to the conduct which is assigned them, or consistent with each other. A naked combination of the qualities necessary to account for the action, will never make up the idea of a real and entire man. There must be a delineation of those, also, that are of no use at the moment, and are not necessarily implied by the presence of the leading features. Without these, an action indeed may be represented; but the actors will be utterly unknown, and all impression of reality, along with every emotion of individual sympathy, will be utterly excluded. A play which discriminates its characters only by the great and leading passions that are essential to the parts they have to sustain, must be as deficient in interest and effect, therefore, as a picture which shews no more of the figures than is necessary to explain its subject; that displays the hand of the murderer, and the bleeding bosom of his victim, but omits all representation of the countenance and gestures of either, or of those circumstances in the surrounding scenery which may suggest aggravations or apologies for the crime. By the plan of Miss Baillie, however, these subordinate and arbitrary traits of character appear to be in a great measure excluded. Her heroes are to be mere personifications of single passions; and the growth and varied condition of one grand feature is to be incessantly held out to our observation, while an impenetrable shade is to be spread upon all the rest of the physiognomy. Among the debasements of modern tragedy, against which Miss Baillie declaims with so much animation, there is none, perhaps, so material as this, which her doctrine has so evident a tendency to sanction; nor is there any thing by which the writings of Shakspeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher, are so remarkably distinguished from those of the later dramatists, as by the individual truth and completeness of their representations of character. They are all drawn with the full lineaments and just proportions of real men; and, while the qualities by which their conduct is to be determined are marked with sufficient boldness and vivacity, the subordinate attributes are not forgotten, by

which we recognise them to be creatures like ourselves, and are enabled to attach our feelings upon some definite and tangible object.

As to the *moral* effect of the drama, conducted upon this or upon any other plan, we confess that we are disposed to be very sceptical. Those plays are the best, we believe, that have done the least harm. The display of great passions is apt to excite an admiration which is not always extinguished by a fictitious view of their tragical effects; and the exhibition of interesting occurrences sometimes begets a disgust and contempt for the insipidity of ordinary life. There is something of cant, however, in this also. Plays have, for the most part, no moral effect at all: they are seen or read for amusement and curiosity only; and the study of them forms so small a part of the occupation of any individual, that it is really altogether fantastical to ascribe to them any sensible effect in the formation of his character.

But even if the case were otherwise, and we were to believe all the pretty things that have been delivered by our essayists as to the moral effects of the stage, we really do not perceive that Miss Baillie's plan of composition is at all likely to forward that great and salutary object. It is her persuasion, it seems, that 'looking back to the first rise, and tracing the progress of passion, points out to us those stages, in the approach of the enemy, where he might have been combated most successfully, and where the suffering him to pass, may be considered as occasioning all the misery that ensues.' Now, though this observation sounds tolerably well when taken in the abstract, it unfortunately fails altogether in the application. The greater part of the passions that are made use of in the drama, are laudable in themselves, and only become vicious in their excess; while, at the same time, their progress is so gradual, that it is frequently almost impossible to say where they ought to have been arrested. To look back to the first rise of such a passion, therefore, will be of no use to us in any case; since it is not till long after that period, that it can become an object of jealousy or alarm; and since the occasions and stages of its increase are so complicated and multiplied, that it must often be impracticable to settle where the vicious series begins. The passion itself, too, may often be confirmed, before it indicates any tendency to evil; and the warning of the drama must either come too late, or lead us to repress some of the noblest and most generous propensities of our nature. The love of Count Basil, for instance, for an accomplished and virtuous princess, has nothing in it that should lead the readers of that tragedy to stifle such an honourable and successful passion in their own bosoms, or to shut the avenues of their hearts to the

approaches of beauty and merit. Ethwald's impatience of obscurity, and his thirst for honourable distinction, in like manner is a feeling which no moralist would wish to eradicate from a powerful or aspiring mind. In all such cases, the shades, by which a passion graduates into criminality, are so fine, and the temptations and apologies by which its seductions are made effectual, so variously and nicely adapted to the circumstances of the imaginary character, that it is impossible to suppose, for a moment, that any one can be taught to guard against them by the peculiar incidents of one dramatic representation. Every one knows, that violent passions are apt to hurry men into crimes and improprieties; and this vulgar lesson, which surely stands in no need of illustration, can scarcely be brought more home to our feelings by a drama, which can never accommodate its fable to the particular character and situation of individuals.

If there be any passions to which Miss Baillie's dramatic warnings can be applicable, they can only be those, therefore, that are intrinsically and fundamentally vicious, and against the remotest approaches of which we ought to be continually on our guard. Hatred, jealousy, envy, and some others, are in this class; and it may be conceived, that to trace these to their origin, may contribute to the preservation of our morality, by enabling us to detect them in their rudiments, and to resist them in their infancy. It has happened, however, that Miss B., by a very singular infelicity in the execution of her plan, has been at the trouble to trace the origin and progress of love and ambition with great care and exactness, while she has only given us a view of hatred in its matured and confirmed state. She has taught us, in this way, how to distinguish and resist the first symptoms of those passions, which, in their beginning, are neither criminal nor dangerous; and has left us altogether without any instructions for combating or discovering those other passions that are never for a moment either innocent or satisfactory, and against the first dawnings of which our conscientious vigilance should have been directed. Basil and Ethwald are made to run their whole career of love and ambition before us, while it is almost impossible to say at what period their passions become criminal; while De Montford presents himself, in the very first scene, the victim of a confirmed and inveterate hatred. If Miss B. really believed that her readers would be better able to resist the influence of bad passions, by studying their natural history and early symptoms, in her plays, she ought certainly to have traced this of hatred to its origin, more carefully than any other, since there is none of which it would be so desirable to cut off the shoots, or extirpate the seeds, at the beginning.

Though it be almost time to conclude those general remarks upon the plan announced on the title-page of this volume, yet we cannot leave the subject without making one remark upon the spontaneous addition that is made to its difficulties, by the extraordinary resolution of making every separate passion the subject of a tragedy and a comedy. Passion, perhaps, is not essential to comedy at all; but the distribution of passion into tragical and comical, is so old, so obvious, and so natural, that we really are at a loss to conceive what strange caprice could have tempted this ingenious writer into so wanton a violation of it. A comedy upon Hatred, sounds as paradoxical to our ears, as an elegy on a wedding, and implies as great a violation of all our customary associations. The constraint that must be submitted to, in order to make out this fantastic piece of uniformity, would deserve our most cordial compassion, if it were not assumed with a certain voluntary perversity: it would not be half so absurd in a manager to insist that all his performers should appear, every night, both in a tragic and a comic character.

Upon the whole, then, we are pretty decidedly of opinion, that Miss Baillie's plan of composing separate plays upon the passions, is, in so far as it is at all new or original, in all respects extremely injudicious; and we have been induced to express this opinion more fully and strongly, from the anxiety that we feel to deliver her pleasing and powerful genius from the trammels that have been imposed upon it by this unfortunate system. It is paying no great compliment, perhaps, to her talents, to say, that they are superior to those of any of her contemporaries among the English writers of tragedy; and that, with proper management, they bid fair to produce something that posterity will not allow to be forgotten. Without perplexing herself with the observances of an arbitary system, she will find that all tragical subjects imply the agency of the greater passions; and that she will have occasion for all her skill in the delineation of character, and all her knowledge of the human heart, although she should only aim (as Shakspeare and Otway have done before her) at the excitation of virtuous sympathy, and the production of a high pathetic effect. Her readers, and her critics, will then discover those moral lessons, which she is now a little too eager to obtrude upon their notice; and will admire, more freely, the productions of a genius, that seems less incumbered with its task, and less conscious of its exertions.

This volume contains four plays, a comedy upon Hatred, and two tragedies and a comedy on Ambition. We shall make a few remarks upon each of them in its order.

If Miss Baillie had delighted us less with some passages of her tragedies, we should, perhaps, have had more reluctance in saying that we think she ought to write no more comedies. There is no flagrant violation of nature in these productions; and the language is for the most part unusually pure and easy. But there is no comic effect in them; a certain placid cheerfulness and gay good sense runs through the whole of them; and though these qualities form the greatest charm of real life, they are somewhat deficient in lustre and brilliancy for the stage. Though Miss Baillie's taste seems, upon the whole, to be tolerably correct as to the proper tone of pleasing conversation; yet she has no great powers, either of wit or humour, and appears to have made her observations on manners with great judgment and sagacity, without having acquired the faculty of giving much life or animation to her characters. The story moves on too slowly, and the characters unfold themselves so very gently and leisurely, that even when the delineation is completed, the impression is but indistinct and feeble. Her comedies, therefore, have more the effect of moral tales, than of proper dramatic pieces; and an orderly sober-paced progression of dialogues and incidents, is left to bring out the catastrophe, that ought to have been committed to the chances and exertions of a more rapid, irregular, and varied assemblage. As these pieces turn professedly upon the stronger passions of the mind, we cannot help thinking the incidents, in general, too insignificant for the interference of such mighty agents. The plots are fitter for an after-piece, than for a regular moral drama of five acts; and the attention can scarcely support itself through so long a period, without the relief of more drollery, variety, and surprise, than the writer has condescended to employ. Besides all this, there is too little *vice*, and too little *danger* in these comedies, to give interest to compositions of so serious a complexion. The greater part of the persons too, have so much good sense and so much good humour, that we are never very much alarmed for their happiness, and are apt to weary a little for the *denouement* that is to reconcile so many good people to each other. From a laudable desire to avoid the affectation or snappishness of modern comedy, Miss Baillie has reduced the language of these pieces, in many places, rather too near to the level of common speech. The dialogue is always deficient in brilliancy, and often in elegance: sometimes it sinks into vulgarity, and sometimes it is puerile and silly.

After these general remarks upon Miss Baillie's comedies, we need not detain our readers with any particular account of 'The 'Election, a comedy on Hatred.' The hero of this piece is the representive of an ancient, but decayed family, who has con-

ceived an unconquerable antipathy at an opulent clothier for having bought up the greater part of his patrimonial domains, and established himself in a huge brick house within sight of the old baronial castle. They are both very good sort of people; but the tradesman is constantly giving offence by certain impolite allusions to his own riches or influence; and the gentleman is at length exasperated beyond all endurance, by his having the audacity to offer himself as a candidate for the old family borough, which becomes vacant at the beginning of the play. The humours of an election are not represented by Miss Baillie with any great spirit, or effect; and, setting these aside, the piece is rather deficient in incident or variety. The characters are as fully developed in the second act, as in the fifth; and as we care very little for the issue of an election in an imaginary borough, we cannot help wishing for the close of the poll a good while before it is announced to us. The incidents that do occur, in the meantime, are certainly of a kind that do not naturally arise out of the character or situation of the parties. The tradesman plumps into a pond, and is fished up by his antagonist, at the risk of his life. The gentleman is then put in prison by some of his creditors, and is liberated by the generosity of his competitor. After this, they go out to fight a duel; and the piece ends with reconciling them, by the discovery of their being *brothers*, the gentleman's father having had an intrigue with the tradesman's mother before marriage. This comedy, we are afraid, will not live to mend the morals of posterity.

It is rather unfortunate for Miss Baillie's tragedies on Ambition, that they can scarcely be read by any body who is not familiar with Shakspeare's Macbeth. We do not remember any instance in which so notorious a model has been so exactly imitated. *Ethwald*, the hero of the play before us, is the son of an aged thane in Mercia, and distinguishes himself in a great battle against the enemies of the kingdom, for which he is rewarded by his sovereign with the earldom of Mairnieth. He then murders the old king, and violently possesses himself of the royalty; he descends into a cavern to consult the weird sisters as to his future destiny, and is terrified at the prediction of his crimes and his misery; he becomes gradually more suspicious, bloody, and ferocious; and is slain at length in his own palace, by a body of those who had escaped from the murderous hands of his assassins. Besides this correct transcript of Macbeth in the main fable, there are many subordinate scenes that are not less evidently borrowed from the same great author. The desolation and musical madness of Bertha, is an apparent copy of Ophelia; the wooing of Elburga, by the avowed murderer of her father, is plainly imitated from the

scene between King Richard and Lady Anne; and the murder of Edward, with all its preliminary horrors, is compounded of the killing of the princes in the play last alluded to, and the inimitable consultation with Hubert in King John.

There is a good deal too much fighting and slaughtering in these tragedies. There are at least three pitched battles fought upon the stage, each of them lasting through two or three busy scenes; and one act opens with the view of a field covered with the dead and the dying, and is filled to a considerable extent with the last words of the wounded, who expire successively in all manner of tempers and attitudes. There are also five or six assassinations perpetrated in the sight of the audience; and a head is fairly struck off, and held up to them, towards the conclusion of the piece. None of the dramas that are usually quoted as proofs of the bloodiness of the English theatre, and the barbarity of our national taste, come up to the horrors delineated in these tragedies by the delicate hand of a female.

In the conduct of the fable, there are two great defects. The story goes on a great deal too slowly, and it goes on a great deal too long. Every thing, especially towards the beginning of the piece, is described and transacted at full length before us. The conceptions of the author are commonly good, and they are generally brought out very completely; but it is done with so much labour, so slowly, and at so great a length, that it frequently gives a great heaviness to the composition. Miss Baillie cannot insinuate any thing, without expressing it; and is afraid to trust her meaning to a short and incidental intimation. She spreads a broad canvass before her, and puts in every thing that presents itself, with the full colouring, and the full proportions of reality. To shew that Ethwald, while lost in visions of future royalty, disdains the petty glory and safe achievements of the chase, she makes his two brothers address, each of them, a whole page of blank verse to him, descriptive of the pleasures of hunting; and sets his uncle upon a very dull and useless vindication of himself from the charges of heresy which the priests had preferred against him. This apologetical oration, which fills nearly three pages, begins with these mean and miserable verses:

> 'Those cunning priests full loudly blast my fame,
> Because that I, with diligence and cost,
> Have got myself instructed how to read
> The holy Scriptures, which, they would maintain,
> No eye profane may dare to violate,' &c.

This elaborate and excessive fulness of expression is particularly remarkable in those parts of the play, where, in conformity

to the general plan, the greatest exertions have been used to characterise the ruling passion of the hero. The different tendencies and emotions of an ambitious spirit are represented with considerable truth and sagacity; but they are obtruded upon the reader with so much pains and anxiety, and are delineated with such deliberate and persevering industry, that they fatigue and overwhelm the attention, instead of captivating the imagination, or awakening an unconscious sympathy. Though the play contains, therefore, a great number of good things on the subject of ambition, and even perhaps all the good things that could have been said on such a subject, still, there is such a want of compression and vivacity throughout, that the whole composition has a most cumbersome and massive appearance; and the mind is overloaded, rather than delighted, with the undiscriminating superfluity of the images it affords. The piece, therefore, is more like a rich collection of materials, than a finished work: there are blocks of marble, and beams of cedar, in plenty; but they are not put together with gracefulness or effect: the heavy and coarse parts are not chiselled away, nor the massive and necessary supports sufficiently removed from observation.

To illustrate this observation at full length, would be to quote one half of the drama before us: we shall only observe, that the obvious and well-worn simile, in which an ambitious man is compared to a man climbing up a mountain, is introduced in three different places, and is dilated, in one of them, into a declamation of nearly twenty verses.

The other grand defect in the construction of these plays, is the excessive prolongation of the story. All the characters with whom we set out are killed off before the end of the first six acts, and a second generation of victims is half exhausted, before the tyrant is immolated to their safety. Vengeance is thus executed by a set of persons in whom we take no interest: and not one of those who have suffered by his tyranny, survives to enjoy the retribution. In this particular, Miss Baillie has deviated rather unfortunately from the model which she has followed with so much exactness in the other parts of the fable. In Macbeth, the son of the gracious Duncan survives to avenge his death, and to vindicate his inheritance; and the usurper falls by the hand of the very man for whose injuries we feel the strongest indignation. In Ethwald, the gentle Edward embraces the bloody fate of his predecessor; the deserted Bertha dies unrevenged; brother Selred and uncle Ethelbert are massacred, without producing any disturbance; and the monster is taken off at last by one Hereulf, of whom we hear nothing till the middle of the

sixth act, and by certain discontented thanes, who are not even introduced by name to the acquaintance of the reader.

The diction and poetry of those tragedies is certainly entitled to very considerable praise. There is no part of Miss Baillie's introductory remarks better founded, than that in which she condemns the artificial stateliness and wearisome pomp of our modern tragedy. This lofty vein, indeed, has of late years been very generally ridiculed: but it has been supplanted by an opposite excess; and the plain vulgarity and prose ecstasies of the German drama deserve still less indulgence, than the mellifluous majesty of our native dramatic poetry. The writer of these plays has attempted a more temperate reform; and, taking for her model the middle style of Shakspeare's versification, has ventured to bespeak the public attention to a species of composition in which so many of her contemporaries have miscarried. There is something certainly very meritorious in this attempt, and its success has been such as should encourage the author to proceed in it. The principal peculiarity, in the style of these tragedies, is the free use of antiquated terms and phraseology. Miss Baillie has not only imitated the manner of Shakspeare, but has revived his language; and, not contented with making her characters speak more like real men and women than modern dramatists have usually done, she has thought it necessary to make them speak like men and women of the sixteenth century. Now, though something is undoubtedly gained in this way by the poetical and pleasing associations which the genius of Shakspeare has connected with this obsolete diction, it rather appears to us that Miss Baillie has carried the practice a little into excess, and taken something both from the originality and the ease of her composition, by this decided predilection for a language that is no longer natural. There are many passages in the volume before us, that bear such evident marks of imitation, that we are apt to forget the sentiment they express, and to think more of Shakspeare than of the persons of the drama. The ideas contained in the following passages are not half so remarkable as the exactness with which the diction of our great dramatist is copied in the expression.

> 'Some do conceit that disembodied spirits
> Have in them more capacity of woe
> Than flesh and blood maintain.'

> 'I am as one, who, in a misty dream,
> Listens to things wild and fantastical,
> Which no congruity, nor kindred, bear
> To preconceived impressions.'

'The land is full of blood: and savage birds
O'er human carcases do scream and batten.
The silent hamlet smokes not; in the field
The aged grandsire turns the joyless soil.
Dark spirits are abroad, and gentle truth,
Within the narrow house of death, is laid
An early tenant.'

——— 'Let that be unto him,
Which in the crowded breach, or busy field,
All meet regardless from a free man's hand.
Doth the still chamber, and the muffled head,
And the unseen stroke that doth th' infliction deal,
Alter its nature?'

These, however, are very favourable examples, and have much of the spirit and force that was necessary to justify so bold an imitation. There are many passages, however, that are mere centos, and have nothing of Shakspeare but the words: For instance,

'Yes, yes! from out the herd, like a mark'd deer,
They drive the poor distraught. The storms of heaven
Beat on him; gaping hinds stare at his woe;
And no one stops to bid heav'n speed his way.'

The following lines are evidently a modern corruption of a fine passage in Macbeth:

'When vision'd horrors, thro' perturbed sleep,
Harden to deeds of blood the dreamer's breast;
When, from the nether world, fell dæmons rise
To guide with lurid flames the murderer's way.'

In her attempts to imitate the familiar and easy style of her great master, Miss Baillie is still more unsuccessful; and as failures in that department are inevitably ridiculous, her ill success is the more to be lamented. The following lines were intended to be pleasant and ironical:

'*Hex.* The King must be inform'd without delay.
Alwy. As quickly as you please, if that you please
To take that office on yourself, good father;
But as for me, I must right plainly say,
I will not venture it; no faith! Of late,
The frame and temper of King Ethwald's mind
Is chang'd,' &c.

An angry thane, in another passage, goes off the stage with this striking exclamation,

'Mine armour man hath ta'en away my helm,
Faith! and my target too—hell blast the buzzard.'

If this had really been Shakspeare's style, it certainly ought not to have been imitated.

In using an antiquated style, a modern writer is likely to commit almost as many blunders as a foreigner; at the same time that he runs the risk of appearing to blunder, when his modern readers are not equally profound with himself in antiquarian philology. Where the stock of obsolete phrases is rather scanty, the perpetual recurrence of the same ill-sounding syllables becomes very disgusting and offensive, especially when a word is frequently repeated that is no longer at all used in composition. Miss Baillie has distressed us much, by making use of the verb to 'shend,' at least a dozen times in these tragedies.

After having made so many strictures on the plays before us, we would willingly make some extracts from them, to justify the encomium we have already passed on the genius of the writer. The task of selection, however, is by no means easy; many of the finest passages deriving their chief merit from their adaptation to the preceding context, or to what has gone before in the preparation of the fable. Ethwald's soliloquy on the field of victory, affords a very fair specimen of Miss Baillie's manner of composition.

> 'So thus ye lie, who, with the morning sun,
> Rose cheerily, and girt your armour on
> With all the vigour, and capacity,
> And comeliness of strong and youthful men,
> Ye also, taken in your manhood's wane,
> With grizzled pates, from mates whose withered hands
> For some good thirty years had smoothed your couch
> Alas! and ye whose fair and early growth
> Did give you the similitude of men
> Ere your fond mothers ceas'd to tend you still,
> As nurselings of their care, ye lie together!' p. 270.

The subsequent description of the same scene by a peasant, is marked, at least, with some strong painting, though there is rather too much of the horrible in the picture.

> ——— 'Oh! there be some
> Whose writhed features, fix'd in all the strength
> Of grappling agony, do stare upon you,
> With their dead eyes half open'd.——
> And there be some, stuck through with bristling darts,
> Whose clenched hands have torn the pebbles up;
> Whose gnashing teeth have ground the very sand,
> Nay, some I've seen among those bloody heaps,
> Defaced and 'reft e'en of the form of men,

Who in conclusive motion yet retain
Some shreds of life more horrible than death.' p. 271.

One of the most striking passages in the play, though altogether in a different taste, is the speech of Prince Edward, in his dark and solitary dungeon.

'*Ed.* Doth the bright sun from the high arch of heaven,
In all his beauteous robes of flecker'd clouds,
And ruddy vapours, and deep glowing flames,
And softly varied shades, look gloriously?
Do the green woods dance to the wind? the lakes
Cast up their sparkling waters to the light?
Do the sweet hamlets in their bushy dells
Send winding up to heaven their curling smoke
On the soft morning air?
Do the flocks bleat, and the wild creatures bound
In antic happiness? and mazy birds
Wing the mid air in lightly skimming bands?
Ay, all this is; men do behold all this;
The poorest man. Even in this lonely vault,
My dark and narrow world, oft do I hear
The crowing of the cock so near my walls,
And sadly think how small a space divides me
From all this fair creation.' p. 286.

There is considerable energy in the following soliloquy of the distracted tyrant.

'*Ethw.* And does the fearful night still lie before me
In all its hideous length? *(rising up with emotion.)*
O ye successive terms of gloomy quiet!
Over my mind ye pass, like rolling waves
Of dense oppression; whilst deep underneath
Lie all its noble powers and faculties
O'erwhelm'd. If such dark shades must henceforth cross
My checker'd life with still returning horrors,
O let me rest in the foul reptile's hole,
And take from me the being of a man!' pp. 349-350.

The introduction of the watch-dog in the same scene, as the only guardian in whom his suspicious nature could now confide, is like one of the striking incidents in a fairy tale, and would probably be very ludicrous in the representation.

Before taking our leave of this drama, we may observe, that besides several smaller errors in prosody and strict construction, Miss Baillie appears to have adopted a very vicious pronunciation of the words, support, pursuit, success,' &c. which she

has evidently accented on the first syllable, in the following and other examples:

——————'This thickest grove
Has stopped the *pursuit:* here we are secure.'

'Unto the fortunes of their Royal Chief
Their *success* owe.'

——————'Fame reports
That ye return with fullest *success* crown'd'

'I should have known the *support* of thy fate,' &c.

There are very few, even among our Scottish versifiers, who would now indulge themselves with so much of their national prosody.

The last play in this volume, is entitled, 'The Second Marriage, a comedy on Ambition;' and we are sensible that we do not speak at all equivocally of its merits, when we say, that it is by far the worst of Miss Baillie's dramatic performances. A more puerile or insipid performance, indeed, is not to be found in M. Berquin's Children's Friend; and as its morality is unexceptionable, we are not without expectation of seeing it included in the next edition of that useful collection. The story is that of a man, who marries a narrow-minded woman of quality, in the hopes of making his fortune, and is nearly ruined by being made the dupe of a crazy projector. The interest of the piece consists in the discontent of the children with their stepmother; and the most brilliant incident, is that of a ghost dressed up by the old cook, and the gardener and old butler, for the purpose of frightening their new lady in her chamber. There are some love scenes among the masters and misses, that are very innocent and edifying; and enough of *natural affection*, to soothe to profound sleep, any polite audience that could be induced to listen to it. There are some touches of pleasantry, and some discrimination of character, in spite of all this: and we cannot help feeling a considerable degree of admiration for the talents of the writer, even in that production in which they have been most injudiciously exerted.

Upon the whole, we think there is no want of genius in this book, although there are many errors of judgment; and are persuaded, that if Miss Baillie will relinquish her plan of producing twin dramas on each of the passions, and consent to write tragedies, without any deeper design than that of interesting her readers, we shall soon have the satisfaction of addressing her with more unqualified praise, than we have yet bestowed upon any poetical adventurer.

ART. II. *Tableau des Etats Danois.* Par Jean Pierre Catteau. 3 tomes. 1802. à Paris.

THE object of this book is to exhibit a picture of the kingdom of Denmark, under all the social relations, of politics, statistics, science, morals, manners, and every thing which can influence its character and importance, as a free and independent collection of human beings.

This book is, upon the whole, executed with great diligence, and good sense. Some subjects of importance are passed over, indeed, with too much haste; but if the publication had exceeded its present magnitude, it would soon have degenerated into a mere book of reference, impossible to be read, and fit only, like a dictionary, for the purposes of occasional appeal: it would not have been a picture presenting us with an interesting epitome of the whole; but a topographical plan, detailing, with minute and fatiguing precision, every trifling circumstance, and every subordinate feature. We should be far from objecting to a much more extended and elaborate performance than the present; because those who read, and those who write, are now so numerous, that there is room enough for varieties and modifications of the same subject: but information of this nature, conveyed in a form, and in a size, adapted to continuous reading, gains in surface what it loses in depth,—and gives general notions to many, though it cannot afford all the knowledge which a few have it in their power to acquire from the habits of more patient labour, and more profound research.

This work, though written at a period when enthusiasm or disgust had thrown most men's minds off their balance, is remarkable, upon the whole, for sobriety and moderation. The observations, though seldom either strikingly ingenious or profound, are just, temperate, and always benevolent. We are so far from perceiving any thing like extravagance in Mr. Catteau, that we are inclined to think he is occasionally too cautious for the interests of truth; that he manages the Court of Denmark with too much delicacy; and exposes, by distant and scarcely perceptible touches, that which it was his duty to have brought out boldly, and strongly. The most disagreeable circumstance in the style of the book is, the author's compliance with that irresistible avidity of his countrymen to declaim upon common-place subjects. He goes on, mingling bucolic details, and sentimental effusions, melting and measuring, crying and calculating, in a manner which is very bad if it is poetry, and worse if it is prose. In speaking of the mode of cultivating potatoes, he cannot avoid calling the potato *a modest vegetable*; and when he comes to the exportation

of horses from the duchy of Holstein, we learn that 'these animals are dragged from the bosom of their peaceable and modest country, to hear in foreign regions, the sound of the warlike trumpet; to carry the combatant amid the hostile ranks; to increase the eclat of some pompous procession; or drag, in a gilded car, some favourite of fortune.'

We are sorry to be compelled to notice these untimely effusions, especially as they may lead to a suspicion of the fidelity of the work; of which fidelity, from actual examination of many of the authorities referred to, we have not the most remote doubt. Mr. Catteau is to be depended upon, as securely as any writer, going over such various and extensive ground, can ever be depended upon. He is occasionally guilty of some trifling inaccuracies; but, what he advances, is commonly derived from the most indisputable authorities: and he has condensed together, a mass of information, which will render his book the most accessible and valuable road of knowledge, to those who are desirous of making any researches respecting the kingdom of Denmark.

Denmark, since the days of piracy, has hardly been heard of out of the Baltic. Margaret, by the union of Calmar, laid the foundation of a monarchy, which (could it have been preserved by hands as strong as those which created it) would have exercised a powerful influence upon the destinies of Europe, and have strangled, perhaps, in the cradle, the infant force of Russia. Denmark, reduced to her ancient bounds by the patriotism and talents of Gustavus Vasa, has never since been able to emerge into notice by her own natural resources, or the genius of her ministers and her monarchs. During that period, Sweden has more than once threatened to give laws to Europe; and, headed by Charles and Gustavus, has broken out into chivalrous enterprizes, with an heroic valour, which merited wiser objects, and greater ultimate success. The spirit of the Danish nation has, for the last two or three centuries, been as little carried to literature or to science, as to war. They have written as little as they have done. With the exception of Tycho Brahé, and a volume of shells, there is hardly a Danish book, or a Danish writer, known five miles from the Great Belt. It is not sufficient to say, that there are many authors read and admired in Denmark: there are none that have passed the Sound; none that have had energy enough to force themselves into the circulation of Europe, to extort universal admiration, and live without the aid of municipal praise, and local approbation. From the period, however, of the first of the Bernstorffs, Denmark has made a great spring, and has advanced more within the last twenty or thirty years, than for the

three preceding centuries. The peasants are now emancipated; the laws of commerce, foreign and interior, are simplified and expanded; the transport of corn and cattle is made free; a considerable degree of liberty is granted to the press; and slavery is to cease this very year in their West Indian possessions. If Ernest Bernstorff was the author of some less commendable measures, they are to be attributed more to the times, than to the defects of his understanding, or of his heart. To this great minister succeeded the favourite Struensee, and to him Ove Guldberg: the first, with views of improvement, not destitute of liberality or genius, but little guided by judgment, or marked by moderation; the latter, devoid of that energy and firmness which were necessary to execute the good he intended. In 1788, when the King became incapable of business, and the Crown prince assumed the government, Count Andrew Bernstorff, nephew of Ernest, was called to the ministry; and, while some nations were shrinking from the very name of innovation, and others overturning every establishment, and violating every principle, Bernstorff steadily pursued, and ultimately effected, the gradual, and bloodless amelioration of his country. His name will ever form a splendid epoch in the history of Denmark. The spirit of economical research and improvement which emanated from him, still remains; while the personal character of the Prince of Denmark, and the zeal with which he seconded the projects of his favourite minister, seem to afford a guarantee for the continuation of the same system of administration.

In his analysis of the present state of Denmark, Mr. Catteau, after a slight historical sketch of that country, divides his subject into sixteen sections

1. Geographical and physical qualities of the Danish territory: 2. Form of government: 3. Administration: 4. Institutions relative to government and administration: 5. Civil and criminal laws, and judiciary institutions: 6. Military system, land army, and marine: 7. Finance: 8. Population: 9. Productive industry, comprehending agriculture, the fisheries, and the extraction of mineral substances: 10. Manufacturing industry: 11. Commerce, interior and exterior, including the state of the great roads, the canals of navigation, the maritime insurances, the bank, &c. &c.: 12. Establishments of charity and public utility: 13. Religion: 14. Education: 15. Language, character, manners, and customs: 16. Sciences and arts.—This division we shall follow.

From the southern limits of Holstein to the southern extremity of Norway, the Danish dominions extend to 300 miles * in

* The mile alluded to here, and through the whole of the book, is

length, and are, upon an average, from about 50 to 60 in breadth: the whole forms an area of about 8000 square miles. The western coast of Jutland, from Riba to Lemvig, is principally alluvial, and presents much greater advantages to the cultivator than he has yet drawn from it. The eastern coast is also extremely favourable to vegetation. A sandy and barren ridge stretching from north to south, between the two coasts, is unfavourable to every species of culture, and hardly capable of supporting the wild and stunted shrubs which languish upon its surface. Towards the north where the Jutland peninsula terminates in the Baltic, every thing assumes an aspect of barrenness and desolation. It is Arabia, without its sun or its verdant islands; but not without its tempests of sand, which sometimes overwhelm what little feeble agriculture they may encounter, and convert the habitual wretchedness of the Jutlander into severe and cruel misfortune. The Danish government has attempted to remedy this evil, in some measure, by encouraging the cultivation of those kinds of shrubs which grow on the sea shore, and by their roots give tenacity and aggregation to the sand. The *Elymus Arenana*, though found to be the most useful for that purpose, is still inadequate to the prevention of the calamity.†

The Danish Isles—are of a green and pleasant aspect. The hills are turf'd up to the top, or covered with trees; the valleys animated by the passage of clear streams; and the whole strikingly contrasted with the savage sterility, or imposing grandeur, of the scenes on the opposite coast of Jutland. All the seas of Denmark are well stored with fish; and a vast number of deep friths and inlets, afford a cheap and valuable communication with the interior of the country.

The Danish rivers are neither numerous nor considerable. The climate, generally speaking, is moist, and subject to thick fogs, which almost obscure the horizon. Upon a mean of twenty-six years, it has rained for a hundred and thirty days every year, and thundered for thirteen. Their summer begins with June, and ends with September. A calm serene sky, and an atmosphere

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the Danish mile, 15 to a degree, or 4000 toises in round numbers: The ancient mile of Norway is much more considerable.—It may be as well to mention here, that the Danes reckon their money by rixdollars, marks, and schellings. A rixdollar contains 6 marks, and a mark 16 schellings. 20 schellings are equal to one livre; consequently, the pound sterling is equal to 4 r. 4 m. 14 sch. or nearly 5 rixdollars.

† There is a Danish work, by Professor Viborg, upon those plants which grow in sand. It has been very actively distributed in Jutland, by the Danish Administration, and might be of considerable service in Norfolk, and other parts of Great Britain.

free from vapours, is very rarely the lot of the inhabitants of Denmark; bnt the humidity with which the air is impregnated is highly favourable to vegetation; and all kinds of corn and grass are cultivated there with great success. To the south of Denmark, are the countries of Sleswick and Holstein. Nature has divided these countries into two parts; the one of which is called *Geestland*, the other *Marschland*. Geestland is the elevated ground, situated along the Baltic. The soil resembles that of Denmark. The division of Marschland forms a band or stripe, which extends from the Elbe to the frontiers of Jutland, an *alluvium* gained and preserved from the sea, by a labour which, though vigilant and severe, is repaid by the most ample profits. The sea, however, in all these alluvial countries, seldom forgets his original rights. Marschland, in the midst of all its tranquillity, fat, and silence, was invaded by this element in the year 1634, with the loss of whole villages, many thousands of horned cattle, and 1500 human beings.

Nature is as grand and wild in Norway, as she is productive in Marschland. Cataracts amid the dark pines; the eternal snow of the mountains; seas that bid adieu to the land, and stretch out to the end of the world; an endless succession of the great and the terrible, leave the eye and the mind without repose. The climate of Norway is extremely favourable to the longevity of the human race, and sufficiently so to the life of many animals domesticated by man. The horses are of a good breed; the horned cattle excellent, though small. Crops of grain are extremely precarious, and often perish before they come to maturity.*

In 1660, the very year in which this happier country was laying the foundations of rational liberty, by the wise restrictions imposed upon its returning Monarch, the people of Denmark, by a solemn act, surrendered their natural rights into the hands of their Sovereign, endowed him with absolute power, and, in express words, declared him, for all his political acts, accountable only to Him to whom all kings and governors are accountable. This revolution, similar to that effected by the king and people at Stockholm in 1772, was not a change from liberty, to slavery; but from a worse sort of slavery to a better; from the control of an insolent and venal senate, to that of one man: it was a change, which simplified their degradation, and by lessening the number of their tyrants, put

* We shall take little notice of Iceland in this review, from the attention we mean to pay to that subject in the review of 'Voyage en Iceland, fait par ordre de sa Majesté Danoise,' 5 vol. 1802.

their servitude more out of sight. There ceased immediately to be an arbitrary Monarch in every parish, and the distance of the oppressor, either operated as a diminution of the oppression, or was thought to do so. The same spirit, to be sure, which urged them to a victory over one evil, might have led them on a little farther to the subjugation of both; and they might have limited the King, by the same powers which enabled them to dissolve the senate. But Europe, at that period, knew no more of liberty, than of Calvanism; and the peasants of Denmark no more dreamt of becoming free, than the inhabitants of Paris do at this moment.

At present, Denmark is in theory one of the most arbitrary governments on the face of the earth. It has remained so ever since the revolution to which we have just alluded; in all which period, the Danes have not, by any important act of rebellion, evinced an impatience of their yoke, or any sense, that the enormous power delegated to their monarchs, has been improperly exercised. In fact, the Danish government enjoys great reputation for its forbearance and mildness; and sanctifies, in a certain degree, its execrable constitution, by the moderation with which it is administered. We regret extremely, that Mr. Catteau has given us, upon this curious subject of the Danish government, such a timid and sterile dissertation. Many governments are despotic by law, which are not despotic in fact; not because they are restrained by their own moderation, but because in spite of their theoretical omnipotence, they are compelled, in many important points, to respect either public opinion, or the opinion of other balancing powers, which, without the express recognition of law, have gradually sprung up in the state. Russia, and imperial Rome, had its prætorian guards. Turkey has its uhlema. Public opinion almost always makes some exceptions to its blind and slavish submission; and, in bowing its neck to the foot of a Sultan, stipulates how hard he shall tread. The very fact of enjoying a mild government for a century and a half, must, in their own estimation, have given the Danes a sort of right to a mild government. Ancient possession is a good title in all cases; and the king of Denmark may have completely lost the power of doing many just and many unjust actions, from never having exercised it in particular instances. What he has not done for so long a period, he may not dare to do now; and he may in vain produce constitutional parchments, abrogated by the general feelings of those whom they were intended to control. Instead of any information of this kind, the author of the Tableau has given us at full length the constitutional act of 1660, and has afforded us no other knowledge, than we could procure from the most vulgar histories; as if state pa-

pers were the best place to look for constitutions, and as if the rights of king and people were really adjusted, by the form and solemnity of covenant, and pacts; by oaths of allegiance, or oaths of coronation.

The King has his privy council, to which he names whom he pleases, with the exception of the heir apparent, and the princes of the blood, who sit there of right. It is customary also, that the heads of colleges should sit there. These colleges are the offices in which the various business of the State is carried on. The chancelry of Denmark interprets all laws which concern privileges in litigation, and the different degrees of authority belonging to various public bodies. It watches over the interests of church, and poor; issues patents, edicts, grants, letters of naturalization, legitimacy, and nobility. The archives of the State are also under its custody. The German chancery has the same powers and privileges in Sleswick and Holstein, which are fiefs of the empire. There is a college for foreign affairs: two colleges of finance: and a college of economy and commerce; which, divided into four parts, directs its attention to four objects: 1. Manufacturing industry: 2. Commerce: 3. Productions: 4. Possessions in the East Indies. All projects and speculations, relative to any of these objects, are referred to this college; and every encouragement given to the prosecution of such as it may chance to approve. There are two other colleges, which respectively manage the army and navy. The total number is nine.

The Court of Denmark is on a footing of great simplicity. The pomp introduced by Christian IV., who modelled his establishments after those of Louis XIV. has been laid aside, and a degree of economy adopted, much more congenial to the manners of the people, and the resources of the country. The hereditary nobility of Denmark may be divided into those of the ancient, those of the modern fiefs, and the personal nobility. The first class are only distinguished from the second, by the more extensive privileges annexed to their fiefs; as it has been the policy of the Court of Denmark, in later times, not to grant such immunities to the possessors of noble lands, as had been accorded to them at earlier periods. Both of these classes, however, derive their nobility from their estates, which are inalienable, and descend according to the laws of primogeniture. In the third class, nobility derives from the person, and not from the estate. To prevent the female noblesse from marrying beneath their rank, and to preserve the dignity of their order, nine or ten Protestant nunneries have been from time to time endowed, in each of which about twelve noble women are accommo-

dated, who, not bound by any vow, find in these societies an economical and elegant retirement. The nobility of Norway have no fiefs. The nobility of Holstein and Sleswick derive their nobility from their fiefs, and are possessed of very extensive privileges. Every thing which concerns their common interests, is discussed in a convention held periodically in the town of Keil: during the vacancies of the convention, there is a permanent deputation resident in the same town. Interests so well watched by the nobles themselves, are necessarily respected by the Court of Denmark. The same institution of free nunneries for the female nobility, prevails in these provinces. Societies of this sort might perhaps be extended to other classes, and to other countries, with some utility. The only objection to a nunnery is, that those who change their mind, cannot change their situation. That a number of unmarried females should collect together in one mass, and subject themselves to some few rules of convenience, is a system which might afford great resources and accommodation to a number of helpless individuals, without proving injurious to the community; unless, indeed, any very timid statesman shall be alarmed at the progress of celibacy, and imagine that the increase and multiplication of the human race may become a mere antiquated habit.

The lowest courts in Denmark are composed of a judge, and a secretary, both chosen by the landed proprietors within the jurisdiction, but confirmed by the King, in whose name all their proceedings are carried on. These courts have their sessions once a week in Denmark, and are attended by four or five burgesses, or farmers, in the capacity of assessors, who occasionally give their advice upon subjects, of which their particular experience may entitle them to judge. From this jurisdiction, there is appeal to a higher court, held every month in different places in Denmark, by judges paid by the Crown. The last appeal for Norway and Denmark is to the *Hoieste Rett*, or supreme court fixed at Copenhagen, which is occupied for nine months in the year, and composed, half of noble, half of plebeian judges. This is the only tribunal in which the advocates plead *viva voce;* in all the others, litigation is carried on by writing. The King takes no cognizance of pecuniary suits determined by this court, but reserves to himself a revision of all its sentences which affect the life or honour of the subject. It has always been the policy of the court of Denmark, to render justice as cheap as possible. We should have been glad to have learnt from Mr. Catteau, whether or not the cheapness of justice operates as an encouragement to litigation; and whether (which we believe is most com-

monly the case), the quality of Danish justice is not in the ratio of the price. But this gentleman, as we have before remarked, is so taken up by the formal part of institutions, that he has neither leisure, nor inclination, to say much of their spirit. The Tribunal of Conciliation, established since 1795, is composed of the most intelligent and respectable men in the vicinage; and its sessions are private. It is competent to determine upon a great number of civil questions; and if both parties agree to the arrangement proposed by the court, its decree is registered, and has legal authority. If the parties cannot be brought to agreement by the amicable interference of the mediators, they are at full liberty to prosecute their suit in a court of justice. All the proceedings of the Tribunal of Conciliation are upon unstampt paper, and they cannot be protracted longer than fifteen days in the country, and eight days in the towns, unless both parties consent to a longer delay. The expenses, which do not exceed three shillings, are not payable, but in case of reconciliation. During the three years preceding this institution, there came before the courts of law, 25,521 causes; and, for the three years following, 9,653, *making the astonishing difference of fifteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-three law-suits.* The idea of this court was taken from the Dutch, among whom it likewise produced the most happy effects. And when we consider what an important point it is, that there should be time for disputants to cool; the strong probability there is, that four or five impartial men from the vicinage will take a right view of the case, and the reluctance that any man must feel to embark his reputation and property in opposition to their opinion, we cannot entertain a doubt of the beauty and importance of the invention. It is hardly possible, that should be bad justice which satisfies both parties; and this species of mediation has no validity, but upon such condition. It is curious too, to remark, how much the progress of rancour obstructs the natural sense of justice; it appears that plaintiff and defendant were *both* satisfied, in 15,868 causes: If all these causes had come on to a regular hearing, and the parties been inflamed, by the expense and publicity of the quarrel, we doubt if there would have been one single man out of the whole number who would have acknowledged that his cause was justly given against him. There are some provisions in the criminal law of Denmark, for the personal liberty of the subject, which cannot be of much importance, so long as the dispensing power is vested in the Crown: however, though they are not much, they are better than nothing; and have probably some effect in offences merely criminal, where the passions and interests of the governors do not interfere. Mr. Catteau con-

siders the law which admits the accused to bail, upon finding proper security, to be unjust, because the poor cannot avail themselves of it. But this is bad reasoning; for every country has a right to impose such restrictions and liens upon the accused, that they shall be forthcoming for trial; at the same time, those restrictions are not to be more severe than the necessity of the case requires. The primary and most obvious method of security is imprisonment. Whoever can point out any other mode of effecting the same object, less oppressive to himself, and as satisfactory to the justice of the country, has a right to require that it be adopted; whoever cannot, must remain in prison. It is a principle that should never be lost sight of, that an accused person is presumed to be innocent; and that no other vexation should be imposed upon him, than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of future investigation. The imprisonment of a poor man, because he cannot find bail, is not a gratuitous vexation, but a necessary severity; justified only, because no other, nor milder mode of security can, in that particular instance, be produced.

Inquisitorial and penal torture is, in some instances, allowed by the laws of Denmark: The former, after having been abolished, was re-established in 1771. The corporations have been gradually and covertly attacked in Denmark, as they have been in Great Britain. The peasants, who had before been attached to the soil, were gradually enfranchised between 1788 and 1800; so that, on the first day of the latter year, there did not remain a single slave in the Danish dominions; or, to speak more correctly, slavery was equalized among all ranks of people. We need not descant on the immense importance of this revolution: and if Mr. Catteau had been of the same opinion, we should have been spared two pages of very bad declamation; beginning in the true French style, with 'oh toi,' and going on with what might be expected to follow such a beginning. The great mass of territorial proprietors in Denmark, are the signiors, possessing fiefs with very extensive privileges, and valuable exemptions from taxes. Many persons hold lands under these proprietors, with interests in the land of very different descriptions. There are some cultivators who possess freeholds; but the number of these is very inconsiderable. The greater number of farmers are what the French call Metayers, put in by the landlord, furnished with stock at his expense, and repaying him in product, labour, or any other manner agreed on in the contract. This is the first, or lowest stage of tenantry, and is the surest sign of a poor country. The feudal system never took root very

deeply in Norway: the greater part of the lands are freehold, and cultivated by their owners. Those which are held under the few privileged fiefs, which still exist in Norway, are subjected to less galling conditions than farms of a similar tenure in Denmark.—Marriage is a mere civil contract among the privileged orders: The presence of a priest is necessary for its celebration among the lower orders. In every large town, there are two public tutors appointed, who, in conjunction with the Magistrates, watch over the interests of wards, at the same time that they occupy themselves with the care of the education of children within the limits of their jurisdiction.—Natural children are perhaps more favoured in Denmark, than in any other kingdom of Europe; They have half the portion which the law allots to legitimate children, and the whole, if there are no legitimate.—A very curious circumstance took place in the kingdom of Denmark, in the middle of the last century, relative to the infliction of capital punishments upon malefactors. They were attended from the prison to the place of execution, by priests, accompanied by a very numerous procession, singing psalms, &c. &c.: which ended, a long discourse was addressed by the priest to the culprit, who was hung as soon as he had heard it. This spectacle, and all the pious cares bestowed upon the criminals, so far seduced the imaginations of the common people, that many of them committed murder purposely to enjoy such inestimable advantages; and the government was positively obliged to make hanging dull, as well as deadly, before it ceased to be an object of popular ambition.

In 1796, the Danish land forces amounted to 74,654, of which 50,880* were militia. Amongst the troops on the Norway establishment, is a regiment of skaters. The pay of a Colonel in the Danish service, is about 1740 rix dollars *per annum*, with some perquisites: that of a private, 6 schellings a day. The entry into the Danish states from the German side, is naturally strong. The passage between Lubeck and Hamburgh, is only eight miles; and the country intersected by marshes, rivers, and lakes. The straits of the Baltic afford considerable security to the Danish isles; and there are very few points in which an army could penetrate through the Norway mountains to overrun that country. The principal fortresses of Denmark, are Copenhagen, Rendsbourg, Gluchstadt, and Frederickshall. In 1801, the Da-

* The militia is not embodied in regiments by itself, but divided among the various regiments of the line.

nish navy consisted of 3 ships of 80 guns, 12 of 74, 2 of 70, 3 of 64, and 2 of 60; 4 frigates of 40, 3 of 36, 3 of 24, and a number of small vessels; in all, 22 of the line, and 10 frigates.*

The revenues of Denmark are derived from the interest of a capital formed by the sale of Crown lands; from a share in the tithes; from the rights of fishing and hunting let to farm; from licenses granted to the farmers to distil their own spirits; from the mint, post, turnpikes, lotteries, and the passage of the Sound. About the year 1750, the number of vessels which passed the Sound both ways, was annually from 4 to 5000: in 1752, the number of 6000 was considered as very extraordinary. They have increased since, in the following ratio:

1770	—	7,736
1777	—	9,047
1783	—	11,166
1790	—	9,734
1796	—	12,113
1800	—	9,048

In 1770, the Sound duties amounted to 459,890 rixdollars; and they have probably been increased since that period to about half a million. To these sources of revenue are to be added, a capitation-tax, a land-tax, a tax on rank, a tax on places, pensions, and the clergy; the stamps, customs, and excise; constituting a revenue of 7,270,172 rixdollars.† The following is a table of the expenses of the Danish government:

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* In 1791, the Swedish army amounted to 47,000 men, regulars and militia: their navy to not more than 16 ships of the line: Before the war, it was about equal to the Danish navy. The author of *Voyage des deux Français*, places the regular troops of Russia at 250,000 men, exclusive of guards and garrisons; and her navy, as it existed in 1791, at 30 frigates, and 50 sail of the line, of which 8 were of 110 guns. This is a brief picture of the forces of the Baltic powers.

† Upon the subject of the Danish revenues, see Toze's Introduction to Statistics, edited and improved by Heinze, 1799, tom. 11. From this work Mr. Catteau has taken his information concerning the Danish revenues.—See also the 19th cap. vol. ii. of *Voyage des deux Français*, which is admirable for extent and precision of information. In general, indeed, this work cannot be too much attended to by those who wish to become acquainted with the statistics of the north of Europe.

The court	R.250,000
The minor branches of the Royal family	180,000
Civil servants	707,500
Secret service money and pensions	231,000
Army	2,080,000
Navy	1,200,000
East Indian colonies	180,000
Bounties to commerce and manufactures	300,000
Annuities	27,000
Buildings and repairs	120,000
Interest of the public debt	1,100,000
Sinking fund	150,000
Total	R.6,525,500

The state of the Danish debt does not appear to be well ascertained *Voyages des deux Francais* makes it amount to R13,654,046, Catteau seems to think it must have been above R.20,000,000 at that period. The Danish government has had great recourse to the usual expedient of issuing paper money. So easy a method of getting rich, has of course been abused; and the paper was, in the year 1790, at a discount of eight, nine, and ten *per cent.* There is, in general, a great want of specie in Denmark; for, though all the Sound duties are paid in gold and silver, the government is forced to export a considerable quantity of the precious metals, for the payment of its foreign debts and agents; and, in spite of the rigid prohibitions to the contrary, the Jews, who swarm at Copenhagen, export Danish ducats to a large value. The court of Denmark has no great credit out of its own dominions, and has always experienced a considerable difficulty in raising its loans in Switzerland, Genoa, and Holland, the usual markets it has reorted to for that purpose.

In the census taken in 1769, the return was as follows:

In Denmark	785,690
Norway	723,141
Iceland	46,201
Ferro Isles	4,754
Sleswig	243,605
Holstein	134,665
Oldenbourg and Delmenhurst	79,071
	2,017,127

This census was taken during the summer, a season in which great numbers of sailors are absent from their families; and as

it does not include the army, the total ought, perhaps, to be raised to 2,225,000 The present population of the Danish states, calculating from the tables of life and death, should be about two millions and a half: the census lately taken, has not yet been published. From registers kept for a number of years, it appears that the number of marriages, were to the whole population, as 1 to 125; and the number of births to the whole population, were as 1 to 32 or 33; of deaths, as 1 to 38. In 1797, in the diocese of Vibourg, out of 8600 children, 80 were bastards: In the diocese of Fionia, 280 out of 1146. Out of 1356 dead in the first of these dioceses, 100 had attained the age of 80, and 1 of 100. In 1769, the population of the towns was 144, 105; in 1787, it was 142,880: In the first of these years, the population of the country was 641,485; and in the latter, 667,165. The population of Copenhagen consisted, in the year 1799, of 42,142 males, 41,476 females. The deaths exceed the births, says Mr. Catteau; and, to prove it, he exhibits a table of deaths and births for six years. Upon calculating this table, however, it appears, that the sum of the births at Copenhagen, during that period, exceeds the sum of the deaths, by 491, or nearly 82 *per annum*; about $\frac{1}{1000}$ of the whole population of the city. The whole kingdom increases $\frac{6}{1216}$, or nearly $\frac{1}{202}$ in a year.* There is no city in Denmark Proper, except Copenhagen, which has a population of more than 5000 souls. The density of population in Denmark Proper, is about 1300 to the square mile.† The proportion of births and deaths in the dutchies, is the same as in Denmark; that of marriages as 1 to 115. Altona, the second city in the Danish dominions, has a population of 20,000. The density of population in Marschland is 6000 per square mile. The paucity of inhabitants in Norway, is not merely referable to the difficulties of subsistence, but to the administrative system established there, and to the bad state of its civil and economical laws It has been more than once exposed to the horrors of famine, by the monopoly of the commerce of grain established there, from which, however, it has at length been delivered. The proportion of births to the living, is as 1 to 35; that of deaths to the living as 1 to 49.‡ So

* The average time in which old countries double their population is stated by Adam Smith to be about 500 years.

† The same rule is used here as in p. 290.

‡ This proportion is a very remarkable proof of the longevity of the Norwegians.

that the whole Danish dominions increase, every year, by about $\frac{1}{163}$; and Norway, which has the worst climate and soil, by about $\frac{1}{212}$; exceeding the common increase by nearly $\frac{1}{300}$ of the whole population. Out of 26,197 persons who died in Denmark in 1799, there were 165 between 80 and 100; and out of 18,354 who died in Norway the same year, there were 208 individuals of the same advanced age. The country population is to the town population in the ratio of 13 to 137. In some parts of Nordland and Finmarken, the population is as low as 15 to the square mile.

Within the last twenty or thirty years, the Danes have done a great deal for the improvement of their country. The peasants, as we have before mentioned, are freed from the soil. The greater part of the clerical, and much of the lay tithes are redeemed, and the corvées and other servile tenures begin to be commuted for money. A bank of credit is established at Copenhagen, for the loan of money to persons engaged in speculations of agriculture and mining. The interest is 4 *per cent.*, and the money is repaid by instalments in the course of from 21 to 28 years. In the course of 12 years, the bank has lent about three millions of rixdollars. The external and domestic commerce of grain is now placed upon the most liberal footing. The culture of potatoes (*ce fruit modeste*) has at length found its way into Denmark, after meeting with the same objections which it experienced at its first introduction from every nation in Europe. Hops are a good deal attended to in Fionia, though enough are not yet grown for the supply of the country. Tobacco is cultivated in the environs of Fredericia, in Jutland, by the industrious descendants of a French colony planted there by Frederic IV. Very little hemp and flax is grown in the Danish dominions. They had veterinary schools, previous to the present establishment of them in Great Britain. Indeed, there was a greater necessity for them in Denmark; as no country in Europe has suffered so severely from diseases among its animals. The decay of the woods begins to be very perceptible; and great quantities, both for fuel and construction, are annually imported from the other countries bordering the Baltic. They have pit-coal; but, either from its inferior quality, or their little skill in working it, they are forced to purchase to a considerable amount from England. The Danes have been almost driven out of the herring market by the Swedes. Their principal export of this kind is dried fish; though, at Altona, their fisheries are carried on with more appearance of enterprise than elsewhere The districts of Hedemarken, Hodeland, Toten, and Romerige, are the parts of Norway most celebrated for the cultivation of grain,

which principally consists of oats. The distress in Norway is sometimes so great, that the inhabitants are compelled to make bread of various sorts of lichens, mingled with their grain. It has lately been discovered, that the *lichen rangiferus*, or rein-deer's moss, is extremely well calculated for that purpose. The Norway fisheries bring to the amount of a million and a half of rixdollars annually into the country. The most remarkable mines in Norway are, the gold mines of Edsvold, the silver mines of Konigsberg, the copper mines of Ræraas, and the iron mines of Arendal and Krageræ, the cobalt mines of Fossum, and the black-lead mines of Englidal. The Court of Denmark is not yet cured of the folly of entering into commercial speculations on its own account. From the year 1769 to 1792, 78,000 rixdollars *per annum* have been lost on the Royal mines alone. Norway produces marble of different colours, very beautiful granites, mill, and whet-stones, and alum.

The principal manufactures of Denmark are those of cloth, cotton printing, sugar refining, and porcelain; of which latter manufactures, carried on by the Crown, the patient proprietor hope that the profits may at some future period equal the expenses. The manufactories for large and small arms are at Frederickwaerk and Elsineur; and, at the gates of Copenhagen, there has lately been erected a cotton spinning-mill, upon the construction so well known in England. At Tendern, in Sleswig, there is a manufacture of lace; and very considerable glass manufactories in several parts of Norway. All the manufacturing arts have evidently travelled from Lubeck and Hamburgh: the greater part of the manufacturers are of German parentage; and vast numbers of manufacturing Germans are to be met with, not only in Denmark, but throughout Sweden and Russia.

The Holstein Canal, uniting the Baltic and the North Sea, is extremely favourable to the interior commerce of Denmark, by rendering unnecessary the long and dangerous voyage round the peninsula of Jutland. In the year 1785, there passed through this canal 409 Danish, and 44 foreign ships. In the year 1798, 1086 Danish, and 1164 foreign. This canal is so advantageous, and the passage round Jutland so very bad, that goods, before the creation of the canal, were very often sent by land from Lubeck to Hamburgh. The amount of cargoes dispatched from Copenhagen for Iceland, between the years 1764 and 1784, was 2,560,000 R.; that of the returns, 4,665,000 R. The commerce with the isles of Foeroe is quite inconsiderable. The exports from Greenland, in the year 1787, amounted to 168,475 R.; its imports to 74,427. None of these possessions are suffered to trade with foreign nations, but through the intervention of the

mother country. The cargoes dispatched to the Danish West Indies consist of all sorts of provisions, of iron, of copper, of various Danish manufactures, and of some East-India goods. The returns are made in sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and coffee. There are about 75 vessels employed in this commerce, from the burthen of 40 to 200 tons.

If the slave-trade, in pursuance of the laws to that effect, ceases in the Danish colonies, the establishments on the coast of Africa will become rather a burthen than a profit. What measures have been taken to ensure the abolition, and whether or not the philanthropy of the mother country is likely to be defeated by the interested views of the colonists, are delicate points, which Mr. Catteau, who often seems to think more of himself than of his reader, passes over with his usual timidity and caution. The present year is the period at which all farther importation of negroes ought to cease; and, if this wise and noble law be really carried into execution, the Danes will enjoy the glory of having been the first to erase this foulest blot in the morality of Europe, and to abolish a wicked and absurd traffic, which purchases its luxuries at the price of impending massacre, and present oppression. Deferred revenge is always put out to compound interest, and exacts its dues with more than judaical rigour. The Africans have begun with the French:

——*Jam proximus ardet*
Ucalegon.

Tea, rhubarb, and porcelain, are the principal articles brought from China. The factories in the East Indies send home cotton cloths, silk, sugar, rice, pepper, ginger, indigo, opium, and arrack. Their most important East Indian settlement is Fredericksnager.* Denmark, after having been long overshadowed by the active industry of the Hanseatic Towns, and embarrassed by its ignorance of the true principles of commerce, has at length established important commercial connexions with all the nations of Europe, and has regulated those connexions by very liberal and enlightened principles. The regulations for the Customs, published in 1791, are a very remarkable proof of this assertion. Every thing is there arranged upon the most just and simple

* We should very willingly have gone through every branch of the Danish commerce, if we had not been apprehensive of extending this article too far. Mr. Catteau gives no general tables of the Danish exports and imports. A German work places them, for the year 1768, as follows: Exports, 3,067,051 rixdollars; Imports, 3,215,085. *Hr. Kunden, par Gatspari.*

principles; and the whole code evinces the striking progress of mercantile knowledge in that country. In looking over the particulars of the Danish commerce, we were struck with the immense increase of their freightage during the wars of this country; a circumstance which should certainly have rendered them rather less disposed to complain of the vexations imposed upon the neutral powers during such periods.* In the first six months of the year 1796, 5032 lasts of Danish shipping were taken up by strangers, for American voyages only. The commercial tonnage of Denmark is put at about 85,000 lasts.

There appears to exist in the kingdom of Denmark, according to the account of Mr. Catteau, a laudable spirit of religious toleration; such as, in some instances, we might copy, with great advantage, in this island. It is not, for instance, necessary in Denmark, that a man should be a Lutheran, before he can be the Mayor of a town; and, incredible as it may seem to some people, there are many officers and magistrates who are found capable of civil trusts, though they do not take the Sacraments exactly in the forms prescribed by the established Church. There is no doubt, however, of the existence of this very extraordinary fact; and, if Mr. Catteau's authority is called in question, we are ready to corroborate it by the testimony of more than one dozen German statists. The Danish Church consists of 13 bishops, 227 archpriests, and 2462 priests. The principal part of the benefices are, in Norway, in the gift of the Crown. In some parts of Denmark, the proprietors of the privileged lands are the patrons; in other parts, the parishes. The revenues of the clergy are from the same sources as our own clergy. The sum of the Church revenues is computed to be 1,391,895 rixdollars; which is little more than 500 for each clergyman. † The Court of Denmark is so liberal upon the subject of sectaries, that the whole Royal Family and the Bishop of Seland assisted at the worship of the Calvinists in 1789, when they celebrated, in the most public manner, the centenary of the foundation of their church. In spite of this tolerant spirit, it is computed that there are not more than 1800 Calvinists in the whole Danish dominions. At Christianfeld, on the frontiers of Sleswig and Jutland, there is a colony of northern Quakers, or Hernhutes, of which Mr. Catteau has given a very agreeable account. They appear to be characterised by the same neatness, order, industry, and absurdity, as their brethren in this country;

* To say nothing of the increased sale of Norway timber, out of 86,000 lasts exported from Norway, 1799, 76,000 came to Great Britain.

† The Jews, however, are still probihited from entering the kingdom of Norway.

taking the utmost care of the sick and destitute, and thoroughly persuaded, that by these good deeds, aided by long pockets and slouched hats, they are acting up to the true spirit of the Gospel. The Greenlanders were converted to Christianity by a Norwegian priest, named John Egede. He was so eminently successful in the object of his mission, and contrived to make himself so very much beloved, that his memory is still held among them in the highest veneration; and they actually date their chronology from the year of his arrival, as we do ours from the birth of our Saviour.

There are, in the University of Copenhagen, seven professors of Theology, two of Civil law, two of Mathematics, one of Latin and Rhetoric, one of Greek, one of Oriental languages, one of History, five of Medicine, one of Agriculture, and one of Statistics. They enjoy a salary of from 1000 to 1500 rixdollars, and are well lodged in the University. The University of Copenhagen is extremely rich, and enjoys an income of 3,000,000 rixdollars. Even Mr. Catteau admits that it has need of reform. In fact, the reputation of universities is almost always short-lived, or else it survives their merit. If they are endowed, professors become fat-witted, and never imagine that the arts, and sciences are any thing else but incomes. If universities slenderly endowed, are rendered famous by the accidental concurrence of a few great teachers, the number of scholars attracted there by the reputation of the place makes the situation of a professor worth intriguing for. The learned pate is not fond of ducking to the golden fool. He who has the best talents for getting the office has most commonly the least for filling it; and men are made moral and mathematical teachers by the same trick and filthiness that they are made tide-waiters, and clerks of the kitchen.

The number of students in the University of Copenhagen is about 700: They come not only from Denmark, but from Norway and Iceland: The latter are distinguished as well for the regularity of their manners, as for the intensity of their application; the instruments of which application are furnished to them by a library containing 60,000 volumes. The Danes have primary schools established in the towns, but which have need of much reform, before they can answer all the beneficial ends of such an institution. We should have been happy to have learned from Mr. Catteau, the degree of information diffused among the lower orders in the Danish dominions; but upon this subject he is silent. In the University of Keil there is an institution for the instruction of schoolmasters; and, in the list of students in the same University, we were a good deal amused to find only one student dedicating himself to Belles Lettres.

The people of Holstein and Sleswick are Dutch, in their manners, character, and appearance. Their language is in general the Low German; though the better sort of people in the towns begin to speak High German.* In Jutland and the isles, the Danish language is spoken: within half a century this language has been cultivated with some attention: before that period, the Danish writers preferred to make use of the Latin or the German language. It is in the island of Fionia that it is spoken with the greatest purity. The Danish character is not agreeable. It is marked by silence, phlegm, and reserve. A Dane is the excess and extravagance of a Dutchman; more breeched, more ponderous, and more saturnine. He is not often a bad member of society, in the great points of morals, and seldom a good one, in the lighter requisites of manners. His understanding is alive only to the useful and the profitable: he never lives for what is merely gracious, courteous, and ornamental. His faculties seem to be drenched and slackened by the eternal fogs in which he resides; he is never alert, elastic, nor serene. His state of animal spirits is so low, that what in other countries would be deemed dejection, proceeding from casual misfortune, is the habitual tenour and complexion of his mind. In all the operations of his understanding, he must have time. He is capable of undertaking great journies; but he travels only a foot pace, and never leaps nor runs. He loves arithmetic better than lyric poetry, and affects Cocker rather than Pindar. He is slow to speak of fountains and amorous maidens; but can take a spell at porisms, as well as another: and will make profound and extensive combinations of thought, if you pay him for it, and do not insist that he shall either be brisk or brief. There is something, on the contrary, extremely pleasing in the Norwegian style of character. The Norwegian expresses firmness and elevation in all that he says and does. In comparison with the Danes, he has always been a free man; and you read his history in his looks. He is not apt, to be sure, to forgive his enemies; but he does not deserve any; for he is hospitable in the extreme, and prevents the needy in their wants. It is not possible for a writer of this country to speak ill of the Norwegians; for, of all strangers, the people of Norway love and admire the British the most. In reading Mr. Catteau's account of the congealed and blighted Laplanders, we were struck with the infinite delight they must have in dying; the only circumstance in which they can enjoy any

* Mr. Catteau's description of Helgoland is entertaining. In an island, containing a population of 2000, there is neither horse, cart, nor plough. We could not have imagined the possibility of such a fact in any part of Europe.

superiority over the rest of mankind; or which tends, in their instance, to verify the theory of the equality of human condition.

If we pass over Tycho Brahe, and the well known history of the Scaldes, of the chronicles of Isleif, Sæmunder, Hünfrode, Snorro Sturleson, and other Icelandic worthies, the list of Danish literati will best prove that they have no literati at all. Are there twenty persons in Great Britain who have ever heard of Longomontanus, Nicholas Stenonis, Sperling, Laurenberg, Huitfeild, Gramn, Holberg, Langbeck, Carstens, Suhm, Kofod Anger? or of the living Wad, Fabricius, Hanch, Tode, and Zæga? We do not deny merit to these various personages: many of them may be much admired by those who are more conversant in Danish literature than we can pretend to be: but they are certainly not names on which the learned fame of any country can be built very high. They have no classical celebrity and diffusion: they are not an universal language: they have not enlarged their original dominion, and become the authors of Europe, instead of the authors of Denmark. It would be loss of time to speak of the fine arts in Denmark: they hardly exist.

We have been compelled to pass over many parts of Mr. Catteau's book more precipitately than we could have wished; but we hope we have said and exhibited enough of it, to satisfy the public that it is, upon the whole, a very valuable publication. The two great requisites for his undertaking, moderation and industry, we are convinced this gentleman possesses in an eminent degree. He represents every thing without prejudice, and he represents every thing authentically. The same cool and judicious disposition, which clears him from the spirit of party, makes him perhaps cautious in excess. We are convinced that every thing he says is true; but we have been sometimes induced to suspect that we do not see the whole truth. After all, perhaps, he has told as much truth as he could do, compatibly with the opportunity of telling any. A person more disposed to touch upon critical and offensive subjects might not have submitted as diligently to the investigation of truth, with which passion was not concerned. How few writers are, at the same time, laborious, impartial, and intrepid!

We cannot conclude this article, without expressing the high sense we entertain of the importance of such researches as those in which Mr. Catteau has been engaged. They must form the basis of all interior regulations, and ought principally to influence the conduct of every country in its relations towards foreign powers. As they contain the best estimate of the wealth and happiness of a people, they bring theory to the strictest test; and measure, better than all reasoning, the wisdom with which laws are made, and the

mildness with which they are administered. If such judicious and elaborate surveys of the state of this and other countries in Europe had been made from time to time for the last two centuries, they would have quickened and matured the progress of knowledge in the art of governing, by throwing light on the spirit and tendency of laws; they would have checked the spirit of officious interference in legislation; have softened persecution, and expanded narrow conceptions of national policy. The happiness of a nation would have been proclaimed by the fulness of its garners, and the multitudes of its sheep and oxen; and rulers might sometimes have sacrificed their schemes of ambition, or their unfeeling splendour, at the detail of silent fields, empty harbours, and famished peasants.

ART. III. HOMERI CARMINA, cum brevi annotatione, accedunt variæ Lectiones et Observationes veterum Grammaticorum, cum nostræ ætatis Critica, curante C. G. HEYNE. Lipsiæ, in Libraria Weidmannia: Londoni, apud J. Payne et Mackinlay. 1802. Eight volumes in octavo. pp. 5900.

THE Iliad of Homer, one of the longest poems in existence, is here presented to the world with so ponderous a mass of commentary and criticism, that if the verses of the poet were uniformly distributed through the whole work, the quantity which each page would contain would not greatly exceed two lines and a half.* Considering how much the industry of verbal critics and grammarians is impaired in this age of frivolity, we were almost disposed to believe, that the intestines of Professor Heyné are not composed of ordinary materials, but of the same solid and weighty substance which was supposed to constitute those of his illustrious predecessor, Didymus of Alexandria, surnamed Χαλκέντερος. The labour in which he has been employed for near twenty years, although extremely useful to the literary world, and honourable to himself in its completion, is attended by so much fatigue in its progress, that we are inclined to censure Joseph Scaliger, who ought to have been better instructed, for considering lexicography as the lowest abyss of literary misery. We rejoiced, therefore, at being informed, that much of the drudgery of collating and compiling was removed from a man of real talents and learning, and sustained by persons whom nature had sent into the world with the qualities which are requisite for

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* The number of verses in the Iliad is 15,683: but a considerable deduction must be made on account of the frequent repetitions.

exploring the charnel-houses of Grecian literature; for wading through the muddy deposit of Alexandrian grammarians; and for perusing, with patience and attention, the numberless absurdities of the ancient philosophers and sophists, who, in compliance with fashion and vulgar prejudice, endeavour to fortify the doctrines of their respective schools by the authority of the father of poetry, ethics, and theology.

Before we proceed to give an account of the work, we must deprecate the indignation of such of our readers as are not completely initiated into the mysteries of philology, and are not prepared to bestow the appellations of *most famous* and *most wise* on men whose names they have never heard, and who do not appear to have possessed any of the faculties of the mind, except memory, in an extraordinary degree of perfection. We request them to consider, that the individuals of a species derive their claims to excellence from a comparison with each other, and not with beings of a higher order. It is not our intention to compare the *immortal* Ruhnkenius with Bacon, or with Newton. We readily acknowledge him to have been an animal of an inferior class to that in which those eminent men were placed. But we must be permitted to maintain, that there exist human beings more despicable than even Ruhnkenius. When he is compared with Barnes and Vauvilliers, he becomes a hero; and we doubt whether ten professors can be found in the thirty-eight universities of Germany, who possess a larger share of good sense, a better taste in general literature, a deeper insight into the secrets of the moral and physical world, and a more profound and varied erudition. For these reasons, we hope that we shall be allowed to persist in conferring immortality on uncouth names with Latin terminations, with as little resistance as if they appertained to tragic poets or major generals.

If we were at present disposed to support the expiring cause of classical erudition, we might probably be led to examine whether there be not some very curious and entertaining branches of science, which have been much cultivated and improved within our own memory, and are greatly admired by fine gentlemen and ladies, as well as by grave professors, but which appear to depend as little on the exercise of our reasoning faculties, as disquisitions on the *form of Thericlean cups*, or the *value of Sicilian talents*. But our present business is with Homer and Professor Heyné.

After a very concise dedication to the tutelary genius of the university of Gœttingen, whom we suppose to be the first Lord of the Hanoverian Treasury, the professor relates the history, and explains the nature of his undertaking, in a preface of fifty pages, an abstract of which we shall present to our readers.

Besides the usual ingredients which compose, or ought to compose, every good edition of a classic author, the principal object of Professor Heyné was to collect, digest, and exhibit the substance of every thing valuable which has been written respecting Homer, from the remotest antiquity until our own age. Those persons only are capable of estimating the quantity of labour necessary for the collection of the materials, and the judgment, requisite to the proper selection and discrimination of them, who are aware how intimately the poetry of Homer is interwoven with every branch of Greek literature, and how small a portion of the criticism of the ancients deserves to be remembered and recorded. The Professor was perfectly sensible that his own unassisted powers were inadequate to so great an undertaking, and that it was absolutely necessary to devolve a part of the labour on proper assistance. Before the year 1781, he had been invited by Reich, a bookseller of Leipzig, whom he styles *vir honestus* (for the etiquette of criticism never bestows a superlative on a bookseller), to superintend the republication of Clarke's edition improved by Ernesti, which had originally appeared twenty years before, and was then become rare. Sensible of the defects of that edition, and of his own want of leisure to remedy them in a manner suitable to the improvements which had been made in Greek literature since the first publication of it, he declined the proposal which was made to him. However, the bookseller did not desist; and at length, by dint of arguments, promises, and entreaties prevailed on him to submit to his will. In consequence of this arrangement, which took place in the year 1781, he engaged, in the capacity of an assistant, Samuel Frederick Nathaniel Morus, who was then Professor of the Greek and Latin languages in the University of Leipzig, and is probably known to some of our readers as the publisher of an edition of Xenophon's Hellenics. Professor Heyné had hardly settled the terms of the compact, and agreed on a division of the labour, when his coadjutor was removed to the Professorship of Divinity. In consequence of this event, the scheme was relinquished entirely, until the year 1783, when the indefatigable midwife of the Muses engaged Beck, the editor of Euripides, to supply the place of Morus as the Professor's assistant.

After labouring nine years in the agreeable employment of collecting various readings, transcribing scholia, and hunting for quotations, Beck found that he could exert his industry to greater advantage in other pursuits; and, in the year 1792, Professor Heyné was left to carry on the work by himself.

In this distressing situation, he was fully sensible of the justice of Virgil's complaint. *The descent into a printing-house*, says the

poet,* *is easy and inviting. The abode of sable fiends stands wide open, both day and night. But to return to the ordinary occupations of life,* after finishing eight thick volumes in octavo, *that is the labour and the difficulty.* Professor Heyné would gladly have resigned the Elysian prospects of fame and profit which were before his eyes, if he could have released himself from the solemn treaty which he had formed with the inexorable bookseller. However, although this was forbidden by the Fates, some circumstances had occurred, which preserved him from despair. Reich, the aforesaid bookseller, had procured from Breslaw the collation of six manuscripts, and had purchased some other *subsidia* from Matthæi, who had resided long at Moscow. In the year 1788, Villoison acquired *immortal glory* by publishing the Venetian manuscript of Homer, which is illustrated with ample and important scholia, the cream of Alexandrian erudition, and is adorned with all the diacritical marks of asterisks and obelisks, and *doubles nodding inwards and nodding outwards.* At the sight of these comfortable characters, the drooping spirits of the Professor were revived. He returned to his labour with new ardour, and began to look round him for ways and means of bringing the work to a conclusion.

By the interposition of Mr. Burgess, and the authority of the Bishop of Durham, he had obtained the use of Bentley's copy of Homer, in which that sagacious critic had restored with his pen the long-lost digamma. He received this invaluable treasure from Cambridge in the month of February 1790. To this instance of munificence, '*most worthy of the generous souls of Britons,*' he ascribes the principal merit of his edition; and he declares, that as long as Homer is read and valued, so long will the '*singular generosity*' of the University of Cambridge, in permitting him to inspect the aforesaid printed copy of Homer, scribbled in the margin, be held up to the admiration of mankind.

One of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts of Homer which exist, is in the possession of our countryman Mr. Townly. The Professor, aware of the usual spirit of collectors in this and most other countries, modestly applied for some information respecting it, and was agreeably surprised at receiving from the liberal proprietor the loan of the precious original.

We will not fatigue our readers by enumerating the other *subsidia* of this kind which the gratitude of Professor Heyné induces him to commemorate; nor will we endeavour to rescue from oblivion the names of those unhappy persons by whom the most laborious part of the work was executed. We regret that one of

* Æneid. VI. 126.

these subaltern artists was not employed at the conclusion of the work, in preparing an Index. The utility of the edition is very much diminished by the want of it. The Professor excuses himself on account of impatience which he felt to appear before the tribunal of the public.

The quotations from Homer, which are found in the ancient writers, afforded much fewer various readings of consequence than some persons would suspect. From the time when Homer was garbled by the Alexandrian critics, the readings do not differ materially from those of our present copies. The most important varieties are preserved traditionally by the grammarians and scholiasts, and were unknown to the generality of readers. It is probable that, in many instances, where the citations differed from the common readings, the transcribers have carefully obliterated the distinction.

At the time when the Professor first applied himself to the study of Homer, little attention was paid to that poet in Germany; and a writer of the highest importance to a man of taste and a philosopher was regarded chiefly as a repository for obsolete words, and inexplicable anomalies of dialect. The edition of Clarke, with the improvements of Ernesti, was supposed to have attained the summit of perfection. It is not our intention to speak with disrespect of one of the most eminent of our countrymen; but we must be permitted to say, that Clarke wanted some of the requisites for the task, which he undertook (like his edition of Cæsar) as a piece of courtly servility; and that Barnes, although absurd and injudicious, has deserved much more of Homer than any editor, except him whose labours are now before us. The edition of Clarke, however, had the merit of appearing in an agreeable form; and the study of Homer was much promoted by it, both in England and in Germany. In the latter country, editions were gradually multiplied. The keen and scrutinizing spirit of inquiry which had invaded the slumbers of sacred criticism, with so much temerity and success, found an additional object in the most ancient of profane writers; and, from the comparison of these venerable sources of Christian and Heathen theology, the knowledge of each was cultivated and improved.

Among the circumstances which contributed to render Homer an object of attention to the learned men of Germany, the Professor enumerates the publication of Wood's Essay on Homer, which appeared in the year 1770, and of the Histories of Greece by Gillies and Mitford. The business of exploring the manners of the uncivilized nations of the world, in which our own country has laboured with such eminent success, had also a considerable effect in turning the eyes of the philosopher towards the most cir-

cumstantial and genuine picture of savage manners which antiquity has transmitted to us.

The materials for the edition being thus collected by the industry of inferior artists, it remains to examine what part of the labour was devolved on the master workman. The object of the Professor was, as we have already mentioned, to explain every passage which required, and was capable of receiving explanation, and to present to the reader, at one view, an account of all that former critics, both ancient and modern, had delivered worthy of being recorded, together with his own observations on their opinions. Much information, which had appeared new and curious twenty years before, was now become trite and vulgar. Nevertheless, he did not conceive himself justified in omitting observations which could be of use to any reader; and although conciseness was his object, he was unwilling to refer to other books for instruction, on points more immediately connected with the object of his labours. For this reason, whatever he found in the former editions worthy of notice, he transferred, in as few words as possible, into his own edition.

On the other hand, he conceived it to be unnecessary to adduce a cumbrous load of authorities in support of truths which no one doubts; to enumerate, with scrupulous accuracy, the authors and supporters of every petty correction or explanation, or to produce a laborious refutation of every improbable cavil or objection. He was not desirous of displaying an accumulation of superfluous erudition; nor is Homer, like Charito, a writer of such little importance, as to be made the sunk foundation of a heavy pile, which is intended to exhibit the whole of the editor's acquired knowledge in the form of a verbose and tedious commentary.

The experience of the Professor, as a public teacher, had convinced him that learners are in general satisfied with understanding the general sense of a passage, in a language which they are not desirous of speaking or writing, and that they have seldom sufficient activity of mind to investigate thoroughly the order and connexion of the members of a sentence, and the meaning of each word separately. We will give the first example which occurs. In the second line of the Iliad, the epithet ὀλομένη is applied to the anger of Achilles, which forms the subject of the poem. Ὀλομένη is a particle of the verb ὄλλυμι, which means *to destroy;* and as the distinction of active and passive verbs is not quite so clearly marked in Greek as in Latin, both teachers and learners are in general satisfied to translate this word *pernicious,* or *destroying,* which is a very proper epithet for the substantive to which it is joined. It requires, however, no extraordinary skill in Greek to know that ὀλέσθαι never means *to destroy,* but al-

ways, *to be destroyed.* Consequently, ἀλαστίνη cannot possibly mean *that which destroys.* A little acquaintance with the practice of authors would shew, that it means *that which ought to be destroyed,* or in one word, *cursed;* and that it is frequently applied to objects of displeasure of every kind. Attentive to these considerations, the Professor has entered very minutely into the grammatical construction of all the difficult passages. He observes, with great truth, that the use of Latin versions is, of all causes, that which most favours the imperfect mode of understanding Greek, which generally prevails. The labour which he has bestowed on this point forms a very prominent feature of his edition. Yet, on turning over Professor Heyné's Latin version, we were surprised at finding that it agrees very faithfully with that of Clarke and Ernesti; and, even in his notes, we think that he sometimes receives the interpretations of Eustathius, and the other commentators, with more deference than they are entitled to. In the second book, Ulysses is dispatched by Agamemnon, in order to induce the Greeks to relinquish the intention which they had lately formed of abandoning the siege, and returning to their own country. Homer, ever attentive to the discrimination of manners, describes the mode in which Ulysses accosted the different orders of men whom he met. When he found a man of rank and eminence, he addressed him civilly, with a compliment:

Δαιμόνι', οὐ σὲ ἔοικε, κακὸν ὡς, δειδίσσεσθαι. v. 190.

Which line the Professor translates, *Vir optime, non te decet, timidum uti trepidare.* Now, we apprehend that δειδίσσομαι (in common Greek, δείδιττομαι) means exactly the contrary to *trepidare.* It signifies *to frighten, to cause fear in others.* Those who recollect the style of argument which Ulysses uses, a few lines afterwards, to the lower orders, will perhaps agree with us in rendering this verse, *It does not become me to threaten a man of your rank, like a fellow of no consequence.*

In settling the text of his author, the Professor has followed the mode which is dictated by common sense, as well as by the '*immortal*' Ernesti, and has estimated the authority of readings, not by the number, but by the value of the copies which support them. The library of the University of Gœttingen is rich in editions, and the public and private character of the Professor opened to him the door of every other collection. Modern manuscripts he properly rejected, unless, on examination, he found them to be transcribed from ancient and valuable copies. We shall not enlarge on this part of his work, as his plan does not differ materially from that which is adopted by the generality of enlightened editors. The various readings which are found in the margin, or at the conclusion of the editions previous to that

of Barnes, are all taken from printed copies. Three manuscripts were collated by Barnes; and nothing of much consequence has been done since, until the present edition. For the labours of Aristarchus and Aristophanes, Professor Heyné appears to entertain a proper contempt; but as it is probable that the writings of Homer were never critically edited in the flourishing days of Greece, all to which a modern editor can aspire is to restore them to the same state in which they were exhibited in the School of Alexandria. Whatever alterations he has made in the text, which, in general, is copied from the first of Wolf's editions, are conspicuously noted in the margin.

The introduction of the Digamma was a matter of considerable uncertainty. To have replaced it in the text would have been too bold an innovation, and would have demanded the restoration of the ancient orthography in all its parts. Moreover, it is far from certain to what words it ought to be annexed; and there are many verses where it is required, which cannot be induced to admit it by any means which modest and prudent critics think themselves justified in employing. The conjunction *ἰδὲ*, *and*, although it is omitted in the Professor's catalogue, and sometimes obliterated in his text*, is a digammated word; and the remark is of some importance to an etymologist, as it proves that *ἰδὲ* is connected with the verb *εἶδον*, originally written ΕΓΙΔΟΝ, and not with the synonymous conjunction *ἠδὲ*. Yet, if we are to write ΓΙΔΕ, how are we to correct verses like the following?

Μισγαγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων. Z. 4. †

If we are to read ΡΟΙ ΕΝΙ ΡΟΙΚΟΙ, what becomes of Hesiod's

Ἐτρίφετ' ἀτταλλων μίγα νήπιος ᾧ ἰνὶ οἴκῳ? v. 131.

These instances (and some hundreds of similar passages may be found) do not subvert the general doctrine of the use of the Digamma; but they sufficiently prove, that the text of these ancient poets is too much corrupted and interpolated to admit of an edition much more perfect than that which is now before us. We approve of the Professor's plan in this respect: he inserts the digammated words in their proper dress, in the space between the text and the short notes. In the execution of this design, he is not quite so diligent and consistent as we should have expected. In v. 1. of the first book, he very properly writes, ΠΗΛΗΓΙΑΔΕΩ. The same principle should have induced him to write ΑΤΡΕΓΙ-

* K. 573. *κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λάφυρ.* Prof. Heyné reads *κνήμας τ' ἠδὲ λάφυρ.*

† Professor Heyné's note offers two or three substitutes for this verse, one of which seems to have very good authority in its favour:

Μισγαγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου (i. e. Καμάνδρου) καὶ Σιμόεντος.

ΑΗΣ, vv. 7. 12. 15. ΒΑΖΙΑΗΦΙ, v. 9. ΝΗΓΑΣ, v. 12. etc. He writes *οἰνοχόει*, v. 598. instead of the Attic *φοινοχόει*, and in the margin gives ΦΟΙΝΟΧΟΕΙ: yet he has suffered *ἔνδαιε*, v. 24. to remain unaltered; and instead of ΓΑΝΔΑΝΕ, writes ΓΗΝΔΑΝΕ, in the margin, as if the argument could affect a vowel intrenched behind the Digamma.

Under the text are inserted short notes, which appear to form a kind of paraphrase, or very diffuse argument. Two volumes are occupied by this part of the work. The third contains a Latin version, preceded by a catalogue of manuscripts and editions; and the remaining five comprehend the honey which the Professor and his working bees have extracted from the flowers of all the libraries in Europe. Notes of inordinate length are taken out of their places, and inserted at the end of the commentary on each book, under the appellation of *Excursus.*

The Professor concludes his preface by apologizing for errors and imperfections, which his constant employment, and the distance at which he lives from the place where the book was printed, rendered him unable to avoid. He is sensible that the edition can be valuable to those only who are desirous of studying Homer with more than usual attention; for which reason he meditates a smaller edition, with a selection of those notes which are best adapted to the use of ordinary readers. The title-page, as our readers have probably perceived, promises the whole works of Homer: but we have not observed any mention of the Professor's intentions respecting the Odyssey.

Our readers will possibly feel some curiosity respecting the Professor's opinions of the history and nature of the work which he has elucidated with so much labour and success. The five last *excursus*, which occupy eighty pages, and which may be entitled, not improperly, *the conclusion, in which nothing is concluded*, exhibit the substance of his investigation of this interesting and difficult subject.

Of the author or authors of the Iliad and Odyssey, nothing has been transmitted to us from high antiquity, although copious and circumstantial lives of Homer have been manufactured, in later times, by the ingenuity of sophists and grammarians. The authentic history of Homer contains nothing, except a very imperfect account of the fate of his writings. If we penetrate as far as we are able into the clouds of Grecian antiquity, we find them in the possession of the rhapsodists, a class of men which exists in every semi-barbarous nation, and whose profession consisted in reciting them for hire in public or private assemblies; from which circumstance they derived the name of *Ὁμηρίδαι*. The rhapsodists were nearly superseded by the establishment of a regular

drama, an institution much better calculated for the amusement of the populace. But while they existed, it was obviously their interest to prevent the circulation of written copies of poems, the recital of which constituted the means of their support. The first mention of Homer which the Professor finds, is in Pindar; but he has neglected to observe two fragments of Simonides, the contemporary and rival of Pindar, one of which is quoted in the Anthology of Stobæus (p. 407. *ed Grotii*), and the other by Athenæus, (p. 172. E.) In the former of these passages, Homer is called Χῖος ἀνὴρ, probably on the authority of the Hymn to Apollo, which is ascribed to him. It is in the same passage that his blindness is originally mentioned, (v. 172.) Homer is adduced as historical evidence by Herodotus and Thucydides; and at the æra of the Peloponnesian war, we find his writings as familiar to the Athenians, as Shakspeare is to ourselves. Before the birth of criticism, it appears that almost every ancient poem in which the fabulous history of Greece was commemorated, circulated with the stamp of Homer impressed upon it. The Iliad and Odyssey, probably more from their intrinsic merit than from any other evidence, either internal or external, at length overcame all opposition. The apocryphal books were rejected from the orthodox canon; and, after slumbering for some time on the shelves of antiquaries, were quietly consigned to oblivion. Yet the Margites, a work to which our Hudibras may be compared, maintained its reputation longer than most of its spurious brethren, and is quoted as genuine by Aristotle.

As we have not undertaken to write an essay on Homer, we shall content ourselves with presenting to our readers the opinions of Professor Heyné, some of which do not appear to us to be incontrovertible. He cannot persuade himself, that in an age in which writing was probably confined to incision on wooden planks, or blocks of stone, it was possible for one man to produce, from the stores of his own imagination, a poem so long and so perfectly well arranged as the Iliad. At whatever period the rhapsodies or separate members of the poem were composed, he is persuaded, and his opinion is by no means unsupported by traditional evidence, that the union and arrangement of them is the work of a later age. As the Iliad and Odyssey are distinctly mentioned by Herodotus, that event must have taken place before the time of the Persian invasion. A very faint and obscure tradition ascribes to Lycurgus, whose history is almost as much involved in darkness as the subject of our present inquiries, the introduction of some of Homer's writings into Greece from Ionia, which is commonly supposed to have been their native country. Time, which always renders falsehood more circum-

stantial, improved this story so far, that Plutarch informs us, in the life of that lawgiver, that 'happening to find a complete copy of the poet's works at Samos, in the possession of the descendants of a man who had been his intimate friend, he transcribed it with great avidity, and sent it to Sparta, where, it seems, Homer was very little known; and imperfect copies of his writings were confined to a small number of possessors.'

Some centuries after Lycurgus, a practice was instituted at Athens by the tyrant Pisistratus, or by one of his sons, which tended to render the writings of Homer more familiar to the inhabitants of that city. At the festival called Panathenæa, at which the whole body of the Athenians was assembled, rhapsodists were appointed to recite them to the people, with the usual accompaniment of gesture and vociferation. As the lungs of a single person would have been inadequate to the task, a plurality of declaimers succeeded each other by turns, and possibly went through the whole. It is extremely probable that this institution was imitated from the practice of some neighbouring state. Be that as it may, Professor Heyné is of opinion, that this story is the only foundation for the confident assertions of later writers, who ascribe the collection and arrangement of the *disjecta membra* of the Iliad to the tyrant Pisistratus. The Professor justly remarks, that a paucity of certain information, respecting any fact, is extremely favourable to the conjectural spirit of ingenious men. In whatever age or country Homer may have existed, he has bequeathed to posterity a collection of thirty thousand verses, and it does not require all the fancy of a Blackwell to extract from a mass so ample, as full and accurate an account of the author, as if his executors had prefixed his life to the subscription edition of his works. From this task the Professor withdraws himself with becoming diffidence; and as it is our duty to follow him, after a few observations we shall take leave of this part of the subject.

If we restrain ourselves from an unlimited use of conjecture, Professor Heyné contends (in our opinion, with success), that there is no circumstance which can enable us to form any probable opinion respecting the age and country of Homer. Homer may have been a Bœotian, like Hesiod; or a Carian, like Herodotus. Nothing can be inferred from the use of a particular dialect by writers who are compelled, by custom or caprice, to lay aside the use of their native language, and compose in a foreign idiom. Homer has no claim to the title of an inventor. The songs of his ἀοιδοί, of Phemius and Demodocus, exactly resemble his own epic; and the numberless allusions to almost every part of the heroic history of Greece, which his writings exhibit, sufficiently shew that the Theban war, the achievements of Her-

cules, and the domestic history of the Pelopidæ, were the subjects of poems which were popular at the time when he wrote. This circumstance may perhaps incline us to diminish his antiquity as much as we can, without bringing him too near to the later literature of Greece. In one of the fragments of Simonides, which we have already mentioned, he is joined to the lyric poet Stesichorus,* in a manner from which the champions of his high antiquity must receive as much offence, as is afforded to the vehement supporters of the Papal supremacy, by the first law of Justinian's code, in which the haughty Damasus is exhibited arm in arm, with Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, '*a man of apostolical sanctity.*' Professor Heyné is almost disposed to agree with Theopompus and Dodwell, in making Homer contemporary with Archilochus, who lived in the reign of Gyges, King of Lydia, between the twentieth and thirtieth Olympiads. On this point, we can say nothing. The Ionic of Archilochus, as far as we can judge from a few fragments, is very different in its texture from that of Homer, and contains no vestiges of the digamma. It is true, that the digamma was used about the time of Archilochus, by all the Dorian Greeks; certainly by Alcman, the oldest of their poets; and was retained long afterwards by the Æolians of Lesbos. If the discovery were possible, it would be proper to inquire, at what period it was laid aside by the more polished Ionians. The natives of this part of Great Britain pronounce the *w* of *write*, and the *gh* of *right*, which, in London, have probably been confounded with *rite* for several centuries. The digamma is not used, as far as we know, by any Ionic writers except Homer and Hesiod, and the impostors who assume their names. The use of the digamma proves the antiquity of those impositions. The authenticity of the more ancient Delphian oracles may be tried by this test.

We cannot forbear expressing a wish, that Professor Heyné had presented us, in some part of his work, with an abstract of the authentic knowledge which may be procured from the ancients respecting the history of Epic poetry in general. The Νόστοι, the Ἐπίγονοι, the Κύπριαἴλιὰς, the little Iliad of Lesches, are all the remote offspring of Homer; and an account of them would not be misplaced in so bulky an edition of his works. We are, however, persuaded, that he has abstained from this investigation, and from several others more immediately connected with Homer, on account of the ample discussions which have been produced respecting them, by that spirit of inquisitive scepticism,

* The age of Stesichorus is very uncertain; but, by every computation, he was considerably younger than Archilochus.

which is almost exclusively confined to the last hundred years, and prevails in Germany to an extent which it has not yet reached in this country.

The remaining *excursus* are for the most part employed in discussing questions of Homeric grammar, and do not appear to us to contain any thing particularly new or curious. We observe that Professor Heyné is a member of that school, which supposes the variety of tenses which are exhibited in the grammar, and only in the grammar, to be the remains of different forms of the same verb.* On this point, we differ from him in the most decided manner. We are persuaded, that forms which cannot be found, except in the works of etymologists, never existed. If we were disposed to indulge in conjecture respecting the primitive language of Greece, we might perhaps adduce the example of Hebrew and Arabic, in confirmation of an opinion which we have sometimes been tempted to entertain—that the modern second aorist is the original foundation on which the superstructure of many verbs has been erected. Whoever has examined this subject with any degree of attention, must have been struck by the great number of aorists, which have no corresponding present, and consequently are connected in common use with presents of a different form. Such are ἔδικον (βάλλω), ἔπορον (δίδωμι), ἔτιτμον (τυγχάνω), ἔφαγον (ἐσθίω), εἶλον (αἱρῶ), εἶπον (λέγω, for ἐννέπω is of a family perfectly different), ἐπριάμην (ὠνοῦμαι), ἔπιφνον (κτείνω), with its passive ἐπιφάμην, which is commonly mistaken for a perfect, † and many

* This spirit has proceeded to so great a length, that Professor Heyné in his note on ἵκμενον οὖρον (A. 479) finds it necessary to suppose, that there originally existed such a form as ἵκμι. We recollect that Mr. Abraham Adams expresses great contempt for such persons as are unable to conjugate verbs in μι. We doubt whether that profound Grecian, even with the assistance of his eldest son, would be able to decline ἵκμι.

† The reader must not suppose that this assertion is made without due consideration, because he finds πίφαται and πίφανται in our present copies of Homer. As the aorist is frequently used instead of the perfect, not only by Homer, but also by the Attic poets, who lived in an age when the difference of the tenses was more accurately defined, the grammarians were induced to convert the το of these words into ται, by which alteration they not only improved the sense, as they imagined, but frequently avoided the necessity of lengthening a short syllable by poetic licence. Accordingly, we find that other editors have followed their example. In the Persian of Æschylus (v. 930.), the present reading is ἐξίφθινται; which we will venture to change into ἐξέφθιντο. If there really existed such a perfect as ἔφθιμαι, the argument would be re-

others. In those verbs in which this primitive form of aorist appears to resemble the present, as, λαμβάνω, ἔλαβον; πίπτω, ἔπεσον; βαίνω, ἔβην; it is generally more easy and natural to deduce the present from the aorist, than the aorist from the present. The common rules of etymology, which teach us to deduce complex forms from simple, should lead us to derive μανθάνω from ἔμαθον, rather than ἔμαθον from μανθάνω, or both from an imaginary form μάθω. It would greatly facilitate the study of the Greek language, if these imaginary, (the grammatical expression is *obsolete*) themes of verbs, and imaginary tenses of verbs which really exist, were entirely laid aside. Why is not the Greek verb, like the Latin, presented to school-boys, in the form which the ancients used, freed from the needless perplexities of the Alexandrian grammarians.

The most curious, as well as the longest of the Professor's excursions, is that respecting the use of the digamma (Vol. VII. 708-772), in which he gives a list of the words in which he thinks that the fugitive ϝ ought to be replaced. We have already said, that there is a much smaller portion of philosophical, historical, and antiquarian research in these volumes, than we should have expected from Professor Heyné. He seems to avoid the question respecting the existence of Troy, which has lately been debated with more acrimony than we think the subject deserves; and we suspect that he regards the classical remains which are said to exist in the Troad, with the same degree of conviction which an incredulous English traveller would extend to the fabulous topography of our Saviour's life and sufferings, which is so accurately delineated on the spot, by the Greek, Latin, and Armenian monks of Palestine.

We shall devote the remainder of this article to an abstract of Professor Heyné's Commentary on the First Book of the Iliad. We are afraid that many of our readers peruse our quarterly effusions 'principally for their amusement,' as Mr. Sneer observes in the Critic. If we were disposed to encourage such unworthy

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tained in the oblique modes, and the participle; of which there occurs no instance. We observe that Professor Heyné is not exempt from this error. In v. 448. of the second book, he has preferred the reading of Aristarchus, ἡγείοντο, to ἠγείροντο, which is the common, and we have no doubt, the correct reading. An examination of the above passage, and of many others which resemble it, will tend to convince the reader that the aorist may be used for almost any tense, and that the grammarians of Alexandria were extremely unwilling to suppose that the Greek language had ever differed considerably from the dialect which was familiar to themselves. Our limits will not allow us to explain the criteria by which we think these obsolete aorists may be distinguished.

practices, perhaps we could cull entertainment for them out of a work which promises as little as that which we are now considering. Daniel Whitby, the antagonist of Mill, collected a very laughable miscellany, to which he gave the name '*De Interpretatione SS. Scripturæ secundum Patres.*' The labours of Professor Heyné would enable us to compile a similar work, '*De Interpretatione Homeri secundum Grammaticos Alexandrinos.*' But as it is by no means our object to amuse our readers, but rather, in imitation of Socrates, to make them wiser and better, we shall confine ourselves as much as possible to the consideration of adverbs and particles, beginning, as Aristotle says, from the beginning.

A. 1. ἄειδε. Protagoras the Philosopher was very angry with Homer for unpolitely addressing a deity, particularly a female one, in the imperative mode. Such of our readers as have occasion to converse with the muses in Greek, will be careful to use the optative.

1b. Ἀχιλῆος. Professor Heyné is of opinion (we think justly), that the original orthography of this word, and others of the same kind (as Ὀδυσεύς), was with one Σ, and that the double letter was originally a poetical licence. The poetical form of words has frequently, although not always, superseded the other, even in prose. If the parish register of Troy had not been destroyed, it would probably appear that the son of Anchises was baptized by the name of *Αινέας*; but as a short syllable cannot enter into an hexameter verse between two long ones, the poets changed his name to *Αινείας*, which the Romans have imitated in Aenēas. In Greek, however, the original form is retained where it can be employed. Clergymen who are curious in pronunciation ought to read Ænēas in the Acts of the Apostles.

2. ἄλγεα θῆκε. So the Professor wishes to read, and so he has altered the common text in a great many places. See vv. 5. 15. 57. 102. 199. 251. 446 464. 487. He prefers the omission of the augment to the elision of the last letter of the preceding word. We prefer the elision in general, and we have no doubt that anciently both words were written entire as in Latin.

4. He writes δὲ ἰλάδια, i. e. ΓΕΛΩΡΙΑ ; and he remarks, that ἴλαος is not derived from ἑλεῖν, *to take*, which is not digammated, but from εἰλεῖν, anciently ΓΕΙΛΕΕΝ, *to roll*.

6. διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε. Some read διὰ στήτην ἐρίσαντο, *quarrelled about a woman*. στήτα being, it seems, a Doric word for γυνή.

8. ξυνέηκε. We wonder that Professor Heyné has not expelled ξύν from Homer. It is so perfectly lawful to produce the last syllable of ἔριδι before a simple Σ, that we think it needless to resort to such expedients as multiplying forms without necessity.

11. τὸν Χρύσην. Professor Heyné would be happy to correct all passages in which ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, occur in Homer, in any other sense than that of the demonstrative οὗτος, or the relative ὅς.

16. στέμματ' ἔχων. The Professor reads στέμμα τ' ἔχων.

15. We observe a curious mistake, οἱ Δᾶρες, instead of Δωριῆς or Δωριεῖς.

20. The Professor writes λῦσαί τι and δίχεσθαι in the infinitive, which is frequently used for the imperative by Homer, as well as by other writers. Τὰς διαπέρασι, &c. Δ. 53.

26. κοιλῆσιν. The Ionic dative plural ought to be written without the subscribed ι. The probable foundation for the common orthography, is the opinion of the grammarians who suppose it to be deflected from the common form; whereas the common form, which is much more modern, is manifestly derived from it. The dative of this form appears to have been retained in Attic prose longer than is generally supposed. Τοῖς ταμίασι is twice found in an imperfect Attic inscription, engraved in Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, (vol. ii. p. 15.) which is older than the Archonship of Euclides, Ol. XCIV. 2. as the double letters and long vowels are not used in it. This form was also used by the later Attics as a local adverb, as, Ἀθήνησι, Πλαταιᾶσι, Ὀλυμπιασιν, Ἁλωσικῆσι. These words, which occur often in inscriptions, are never written with the diphthong. Professor Heyné has not paid much attention to these *minutiæ*, as we observe that he writes χρήμενοι, ἔχρα, &c. We must, however, observe, in justice to the practice of the moderns, that some inscriptions are to be found, which demonstrate, if they are authentic, and correctly delineated, that in the purest ages of Greek literature, the same confusion prevailed on this point of orthography, which appears in the manuscripts of the tenth century. Our readers will recollect the famous inscription which commemorates the names of those who fell in the Cyprian war, which concluded the life of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and in some other engagements which took place the same year. The history is succinctly related by Thucydides, (b. i. c. 104.) A specimen of the inscription, which is now preserved at Paris, may be seen in the Palæography of Montfaucon (p. 134.) and the names are copied at length by Maffei, in his *Galliæ Antiquitates Selectæ*, (p. 84.) The beginning is as follows: ΗΟΙΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΝ. ΕΝ ΚΥΠΡΟΙ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΙ. ΕΝ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΙ. ΕΝ ΑΛΙΕΥΣΙΝ. ΕΝ ΑΙΓΙΝΕΙ. ΜΕΓΑΡΟΣ. (probably ΜΕΓΑΡΟΙ, the adverb, *at Megara*). ΕΝ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ. If these last words be correctly represented, it is sufficiently clear, that the ι of the dative singular was sometimes omitted, even before the æra of the Peloponesian war. Could we, by any art, evade the ΕΝ, we might conceive the other words to be in the genitive case, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. With respect to the dative plural, we will lay before our readers another inscription, which may be found, in a very illegible state, in the collection of Chandler, (p. 54.) The inscription consists of forty-four lines. Each line contains eleven letters. For the convenience of such of our readers as are not conversant in these matters, we shall exhibit it in common characters, with spaces between the words. Each of our lines contains four lines of the original. The first sixty-seven letters we shall leave to the sagacity of abler antiquaries; and in the remainder, we have indulged some license of conjectural emendation.

::: οἷς ακολ:::::::ι καὶ :::: ασιν το ::::: ται καὶ : ::::τοῖσιν ::ας απαρχε ::: τὸν χρόνον τῶν σπονδῶν. Τῷ Μεταγειτνιῶνι μηνὸς ἀπὸ διχομηνίας, καὶ τὸν Βοηδρομιῶνα, καὶ τῷ Πυανοψιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱστασμένο. Τὰς δὲ σπονδὰς εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι πόλεσιν, καὶ ἃν χρῶνται τοῖ ἱερεῖ, καὶ Αθηναίοισιν ἐκεῖ ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσι πόλεσιν. Τοῖσι δὲ ελάττοσι μυστηρίοισιν τὰς σπονδὰς εἶναι τῷ Γαμηλιῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ διχομηνίας, καὶ τὸν Ανθεστηριῶνα, καὶ τῷ Ελαφηβολιῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ἱστασμένο. Τὰ μὲν ηακόσια, ηαπλεῖ· τὰ δὲ ηεκόσια, δίπλεῖ. Σπονδὰς εἶν αι τοῖσι Μυστῆσιν, καὶ τοῖς Επoπτεύσιν, καὶ τοῖς ακολο-

Our readers will observe, that, in this inscription, the dative plural has the I thrice, and wants it twice. The middle part of *Μυστῆσιν* is defaced: and it is from computing the number of the letters that we exhibit it without the I. As we are very desirous of proving, that before the age of Alexander the Great, the Greeks had a regular system of orthography and pronunciation, we should be happy at being convinced, that this monument, like the columns of Herodes Atticus, and many other similar pieces, is the production of an ingenious sophist. We must remark, that the order in which the month Pyanepsion (or Pyanopsion) is placed, does not agree with the hypothesis of Petavius and Dodwell, who suppose, that until after the time of Aristotle, Boedromion was followed by Miamacterion.

66. *αἴ κεν—βούλεται.* The Professor remarks, that *αἴ κεν* (i. e. *ἐὰν*) requires the subjunctive; but he does not seem disposed to allow that *βούλεται* is both indicative and subjunctive. The poets retained the power of shortening the penult of the subjunctive, long after the invention of the long H and Ω. In ver. 363, *ἵνα ἴδομεν ἄμφω*, he supposes *ἴδομεν* to be an indicative. We wish to know to what verb it belongs. *Εἴδω, to know*, is a verb confined to the grammar. According to the doctrine which we have already laid down, the parent of all this family is the aorist *ἰδεῖν, to see*, which neither has, nor ever had, a present, except *ὁρῶ*. From *ἰδεῖν* comes *οἶδα, to know*, which, in the future, *εἴσομαι* (sometimes *εἰδήσω*), and in the oblique modes, *εἰδῶ, εἰδείην, εἰδέναι, εἰδώς*, changes the O into Σ, and sometimes loses both the prepositive vowels. The forms which we frequently find, *ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσασι, ἴσθι*, &c. are only contractions and corruptions of *οἴδαμεν*, &c. from which the Dorians have invented their *ἴσαμι*. From *ἰδεῖν* is also derived *εἴδομαι, to seem, to resemble*, which commonly appears in the perfect form *ἔοικα*, sometimes *εἴκα*, of which the future is *εἴξω*, as from the perfects *ἔστηκα* and *τέθηκα* are derived *ἑστήξω* and *τεθνήξω*.

77. *ἔπεσι.* Professor Heyné's system respecting the N *ἐφελκυστικὸν* is as follows. He retains it before a vowel, and in every situation in which he thinks a word which does not admit of it could not stand. He writes *φάσησίν τι* (ver. 333), as he supposes that *φάσησά τε* could not, by the most violent exertion of poetical authority, be induced to terminate a verse. In other places, he commonly omits it. We shall offer no remark on his system, except that we agree with him in thinking, that

the collation of manuscripts, and the opinion of ancient grammarians, can have no weight in deciding the dispute. He reads ἔπεσι, 150, 211; ἄλλεσι, 295; ἐπείλησιν, 388; πρῆσι, 481; ἴθεσι, 483; εὖρι, 498; ἐφίλασσι, 510.

85. A scholiast remarks, "εἶσθα χωρὶς τοῦ Σ," which the Professor does not seem to understand. The scholiast alludes to εἶσθας, which is not an unfrequent barbarism.

91. ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ. For ἐνὶ στρατῷ Professor Heyné substitutes Ἀχαιῶν in the text, which has the authority of Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Sosigenes, and Zenodotus.

103. φρὴν is the diaphragm, and θυμὸς the liver. It is curious to observe how perfectly material an uncultivated language is.

Ib. ἀμφιμίλαινα. Professor Heyné reads ἀμφὶ μίλαινα.

117. Although an example occurs five lines before, of the suppression of μᾶλλον before or after βούλομαι, none of the ancient critics were able to divine the meaning of this line; and Zenodotus boldly rejects it as spurious. Agamemnon declares, in a style very proper for a commander in chief, that '*he would rather the army should be saved than perish.*' This patriotic sentiment is not unfrequently translated, '*I do not care whether the enemy be preserved or destroyed.*'

129. Δῶσι or δῶσι? We prefer δῷσι, from the analogy of the second person: τίθης, τίθησι; λίγῃς, λίγῃσι.

133. ἢ ἰθέλεις. Most of the ancient editions read ἢ θέλεις, which last is not an Homeric word. See ver. 273.

149. ἀναιδείην. This word, and all others which resemble it in form, we believe to be barbarous, and that the proper orthography is ἀναιδίην, ἀληθίην, in which the penult is made long from necessity, as is frequently done in ἀργίην, and many similar words which have no pretension to be written with the diphthong. (See ver. 205.) We do not believe that the Attic mode of forming substantives in -εια from adjectives in -ης, was known to Homer; and if it were, he would have written, as they did, ἀναιδειαν, with the last syllable short. Neither poetic licence, nor the Ionic dialect, converts a short α in the end of a word into η. Μίη, which is frequently found in our present editions of Herodotus, ought to be altered to μία. It is exactly such an Ionism as χειρᾶι and γυναικᾶι are Dorisms. Professor Heyné has not attended to this consideration.

153. Αἴτιος in Homer is ὑπὸ αἰτίαν κίμενος.

159. Τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι is τιμορίαν ἱσπραττόμενοι.

164. Professor Heyné prefers εὖ ναιόμενον to εὐναιόμενον, on which subject he has an *Excursus*. We differ from him, although not confidently, and we think that the participle has a tendency to combinations of this kind, even where the verb rejects them, as, εὐκτίμενος, ἀκρυχίων, καρηκομόωντες, νουνεχόντως.

168. ἐπὴν κεκάμω and ἐπήν κε κάμω are both Greek; but we are surprised that Professor Heyné does not stigmatise ἐπήν κε κάμω as a gross barbarism.

170, 171. οὐδέ σ' ὀΐω, &c. This desperate passage does not receive much new light from the Professor's animadversions. Whether we

suppose ἀφύξειν to relate to Agamemnon or to Achilles, it is impossible to force the words into order, without violating the common laws of construction. The most probable solution of the difficulty is to read τ' for σ'. Compare ἀλλ' ὁμαι ἀνδρὰ χολώσιμεν, ver. 78. which the Professor persists in translating *puto virum iratum fore*, instead of *I think that I shall exasperate*, &c. We cannot allow σ' to stand for τοι.

171. ἄφενος. Is the Professor serious, when he records the etymology of this word ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐτιαυτοῦ, *the fruit of one year?*

187. ἶσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι. The Professor's interpretation is φάσθαι ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἶσον ἐμοί. If he, or any one else, supposes that φάσθαι is more capable of bearing this sense than φῆναι, they are mistaken, as the two forms are perfectly synonymous.

191. For ἐναρίξοι the Professor substitutes ἐναρίζοι, for good reasons, and on good authority.

193. On occasion of the interposition of Minerva to prevent Achilles from laying violent hands on Agamemnon, Professor Heyné remarks: 'Semel monendum est: quod nunc inter vulgo nota habetur, ante xx annos non æque: quicquid homines cogitant, suscipiunt, peragunt, ita ut concilii suscepti caussa aut obvia non sit, aut ratio quomodo res gesta sit, vulgo non occurrat; id ad numen referri, quod id aut clam moneat, aut homines ad id impellat, aut eos afflet, aut clam adjuvet rebusque agendis ipsum intersit.' We entreat the reader to observe the wonderful progress of philosophy within the last twenty years.

203. ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃς. The Professor reads ἴδῃ, but the reading of Eustathius, ἴδῃ' (for ἴδηαι,) is certainly the best; and, as a general rule, we would always restore the uncontracted forms in Homer when it is possible. We would read μιτατρέπει' 160. ἀφαιρέεται 182. Πατρόκλεες 336. ἔπει' 504.

204. The Professor reads τελέεσθαι instead of τετελέσθαι; and observes, that the *readings* of Aristarchus, Zenodotus and the other grammarians are in general nothing more than conjectural emendations, and consequently have no more authority than those of Bentley or himself. We acquiesce most perfectly in this opinion.

216. Professor Heyné observes, that Apollonius Rhodius uses σφωίτερος, which is properly a dual, for σφέτερος. We consider the Ionisms (*rectius* Iasms) of Apollonius, and the Atticisms of Lucian, as far inferior to the Latinity of Bembo or Erasmus.

244. This verse is considered as spurious by Bentley and Professor Heyné. One great part of the criticism of the ancients on Homer consisted in rejecting passages which they did not understand, or which did not suit their ideas of the poet or the poem. The boldest of these men seems to have been Zenodotus. In our account of the Professor's notes, we have taken no notice of their opinions, because we do not think that in general they deserve the smallest regard. One critic conceives it to be unsuitable to the gravity of Agamemnon to tell Chryses that he loves his daughter better than Clytæmnestra, his κουριδίη ἄλοχος. Another wishes to reject the scolding scene between the two heroes. A third does not approve of Minerva pulling Achilles by the

hair. Professor Heyné has in general exhibited the sentiments of these ingenious critics very faithfully.

230. ἴσκοι. Professor Heyné reads ἴσκῃ.

358. περὶ—βουλάς. The Professor has judiciously restored the accusative for the dative, on the authority of the Venetian manuscript. He compares N, 621. Od. A, 66. Σ, 247.

265. Θεστίδ' τ' Αἰγισθόν. This verse is wanting in some of the best manuscripts, and was probably interpolated by the vanity of the Athenians. As to the quantity of the last syllable, which Clarke suspects to be long, we must observe, that there is a perfect analogy between the genitive and accusative. Homer does not use βασιλέως, consequently he did not use βασιλεᾶ. In Attic prose, the long form only ought to be used: in verse, both are employed.

273. ξόανον. The Professor reads ξόανον, for ξοάνευσα, which is the common form.

277. μηδὲ σὺ, Πηλείδη, θέλ'. As θέλω does not occur in Homer except in this line, wonderful pains have been taken to get rid of it. Professor Heyné cuts the knot, and reads 'θέλ' with the apostrophus.

278. The Professor suspects ἴμμορε to be an aorist; we believe it to be a perfect, for a very simple reason, which is, that ε or ει does not become ο in the aorist. If it were an aorist, it would probably be written ἴμμαρε.

283. λίσσομ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ, &c. None of the ancients have commented on this verse, except Eustathius, whose explanation is received by Professor Heyné: λιτανεύει τὸν βασιλέα παύσασθαι τοῦ χόλου τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ

291. πρεσθέουσι. We know not what to make of this word, but we cannot allow it to stand for πρεσβεύουσι.

294. εἰ δή σοι πᾶν ἔργον ὑπόσχομαι ἐστὶ καὶ ἴσκοις. 'In the first place,' says Bentley, 'Homer never says ἔργον ἰσκεῖν, but always ἔπος ἰσκεῖν. Secondly, ἴσκω requires the digamma. Correct, therefore, τι ἔπος ὑποίξομαι.' Professor Heyné properly substitutes ἴσκῃς for ἴσκοις, but declines giving an opinion on the other points.

296. Σήμαιν', οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἴστι σοι κἠνισσθαι ὅδε. This verse is rejected by Longinus, Bentley, and Professor Heyné, in his notes, who all put a stop after μὴ γὰρ ἔμοιγε in the preceding line.

298. οὔτι. Professor reads οὔτοι.

301. ἀεικέα. The Professor reads ἄν εἰκέα.

344. μαχέσοντο Ἀχαιοί. In order to avoid this ugly *hiatus*, Barnes and Bentley both read μαχέσοντ' with the approbation of Professor Heyné. We have no doubt that the real reading is μαχέσονται in the future. There is hardly any ancient form of speech which the transcribers have so diligently laboured to extirpate, as ὅπως followed by a future.

561. ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ἐτέλεσε. One of the ancients translates this phrase, which occurs so often, *Spoke verbs and nouns.* ἔπος is the same as ῥῆμα, *a verb.*

423. ἐπ' Ὠκεανόν. The Professor reads ἐς Ὠκεανόν.

424. μετὰ δαῖτα. The Professor inserts κατὰ δαῖτα in his text, on what appears to us to be insufficient authority.

428. *ἀπίβησατο.* We prefer the other form *ἀπίβησετο*, and also *ὀδύσετο*.

444. *ὄφρ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα.* This reading, which admits the digamma, is at last received into the text, not only on the authority of Dawes and Bentley, but also on that of most of the manuscripts.

483. *κίλευθα.* The Professor reads *λίλιυθον*.

489. *Πηλείως υἱός.* We are surprised that Professor Heyné chooses to make a crasis of the two last syllables of *Πηλέος*, not having the fear of the digamma before his eyes, rather than to adopt Barnes's reading *Πηλῆος*, which requires the first syllable of *υἱὸς* to be shortened; a licence for which it is unnecessary to produce other authority than *Δρύαντος υἱός*. Z. 130.

491. The Professor observes that *φθινύθω* is synonymous both with *φθίνω* and *φθίσομαι*. *Φθινύθω* is the same as *φθίνω*, which, in an active sense, has the future *φθίσω*, and the aorist *ἔφθισα*. The passive future and aorist are *φθίσομαι* and *ἐφθίμην*. We mention this circumstance, because learners who find a verb used indiscriminately in one of its tenses, sometimes suppose that it may be confounded in all of them. The verb *καθίζω* is used in the same manner by Attic writers.

513. Instead of *ἕρετο*, which is an Attic form, the Professor restores *ἔιρετο*.

522. *μή σε νοήσῃ.* The Professor reads *μή τι νοήσῃ*.

533. *Ζεὺς δὲ ἰὼν πρὸς δῶμα.* The digammated form of *ἰὼς* was, as Professor Heyné remarks, ΕΓΟΣ rather than ΓΕΟΣ. Many words which appear to have had a digamma after the initial Ε, sometimes lose the Ε, in the same manner as ΕΓΟΣ becomes ΓΟΣ. Such are ΕΓΕΙΚΟΣΙ, ΕΓΕΡΓΩ, ΕΓΕΑΝΟΝ, ΕΓΕΛΑΩΡ, ΕΓΙΣΟΣ. In the present verse, he he thinks that ΖΕΥΣ ΔΕ ΓΟΝ is allowable. Perhaps, on the same principle, we may venture to correct ver. 18. *Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμου πόλιν, σὺ δὲ* ΓΟΙΚΑΔ' *ἰκέσθαι*. Bentley reads *καὶ* for *σὺ δ'*, which is too violent an alteration. Professor Heyné wishes to substitute *Ἄργος* for *οἶκαδ'*.

543. *νόησις.* The Professor reads *νοήσῃς*.

549. Professor Heyné justly suspects *ἐγὼν* to be, in every part of Homer, an invention of the grammarians.

555. *μή νι παρίσκῃ.* As *παρίσκῃ* requires the digamma, Bentley boldly substitutes *παρίλθῃ*. Professor Heyné is of opinion, *nobis reclamantibus*, that, in compound words, the digamma may be dropped at pleasure.

556. *μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν ὅσοι θεοὶ ἔισ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ*
ἄσσον ἰόντ', ὅτι κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἐπείω.

Professor Heyné remarks, that *ἄσσον ἰέναι* means *to attack*, and that consequently *ἰόντ'* must be the accusative applied to Jupiter, and governed by *χραίσμωσιν*, which form he illustrates by Υ, 276. *οὐκ αὖτῳ χραίσμησιν ὄλεθρον.*

585. *ἐν χερσί.* The Professor reads *ἐν χειρί*.

608. *ποίησεν ἰδυίησι.* Professor Heyné has restored the true reading for *ποίησ' ἰδυίῃσι*, which does not admit the digamma. He also reads *ταῦτα ἰδυίῃ*, v. 366.

We shall not continue our researches any farther, as we presume our readers are sufficiently convinced how little advantage is to be derived, in an edition of Homer, from the most accurate and attentive examination of all the documents which at present exist. The great obstacle which stands in the way of the critic, in his attempts to restore these venerable remains to their original purity, is the absolute impossibility of distinguishing the parts which are interpolated from those which are genuine. We have already mentioned, that the criticisms of the Alexandrian grammarians, are much better calculated to mislead those who confide in them, or to amuse those who despise them, than to elucidate obscurities, or to detect impositions. In a lower and more humble style of criticism, much may be done, and much of what was possible has been executed by Professor Heyné. His work will, in a great measure, preclude the necessity of farther collations, from which nothing of consequence can be expected; and when the Greek language is better understood than it is at present, it will be resorted to as a rich repository of philological information.

We had almost forgotten to mention, that this book is printed on three different papers. The two best have the recommendation of being extremely dear, and of containing a great number of head and tail pieces, similar to those which adorn the Professor's edition of Virgil.

We shall now take our leave of this useful and valuable publication. Professor Heyné is, we believe, *septuagenario major;* but we do not despair of being called upon, in a short time, to give our opinion of his edition of the Odyssey. So much of the labour which is common to both poems, is anticipated in the Iliad, that the publication of the Odyssey will be attended by very little trouble. We regret that the situation in which Professor Heyné is placed does not permit him to devote the whole of his time to pursuits, for which he possesses so many qualifications. Literature, in Germany, is a trade; and a liberal education is considered as unnecessary to youths whose circumstances enable them to subsist without the exercise of a profession. For this reason, instances of men of learning, whose time is not occupied by the duty of public instruction, are much rarer in Germany than in England. In England, we have not derived from the labours of such persons, the advantages which we might have expected. Mental indolence is the faithful companion of wealth; and, in our own country, as well as in every other, the most meritorious exertions in literature have been made by those who were unable to devote to their favourite pursuits more than a few irregular hours stolen from the performance of duties on which their subsistence depended.

ART. IV. *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria, &c. and into Egypt.* By William Wittman, M. D. 1803. London. Philips.

DR. WITTMAN was sent abroad with the military mission to Turkey, towards the spring of 1799, and remained attached to it during its residence in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, its march through the desert, and its short operations in Egypt. The military mission, consisting of General Koehler, and some officers and privates of the artillery and engineers, amounting in the whole to seventy, were assembled at Constantinople, June 1799, which they left in the same month of the following year, joined the grand Vizier at Jaffa in July, and entered Egypt with the Turks in April 1801. After the military operations were concluded there, Dr. Wittman returned home by Constantinople, Vienna, &c.

The travels are written in the shape of a journal, which begins, and concludes, with the events which we have just mentioned. It is obvious that the route described by Dr. Wittman is not new: He could make no cursory and superficial observations upon the people whom he saw, or the countries through which he passed, with which the public are not already familiar. If his travels were to possess any merit at all, they were to derive that merit from accurate physical researches, from copious information on the state of medicine, surgery, and disease in Turkey; and, above all, perhaps from gratifying the rational curiosity which all inquiring minds must feel upon the nature of the plague, and the indication of cure. Dr. Wittman, too, was passing over the same ground trodden by Bonaparte in his Syrian expedition, and had an ample opportunity of inquiring its probable object, and the probable success which (but for the heroic defence of Acre) might have attended it: he was on the theatre of Bonaparte's imputed crimes, as well as his notorious defeat; and might have brought us back, not anile conjecture, but sound evidence, of events which must determine his character, who may determine our fate. We should have been happy also to have found in the travels of Dr. Wittman, a full account of the tactics and manœuvres of the Turkish army; and this it would not have been difficult to have obtained through the medium of his military companions. Such appear to us to be the subjects, from an able discussion of which, Dr. Wittman might have derived considerable reputation, by gratifying the ardour of temporary curiosity, and adding to the stock of permanent knowledge.

Upon opening Dr. Wittman's book, we turned, with a considerable degree of interest, to the subject of Jaffa; and, to de

justice to the Doctor, we shall quote all that he has said upon the subject of Bonaparte's conduct at this place.

'After a breach had been effected, the French troops stormed, and carried the place. It was probably owing to the obstinate defence made by the Turks, that the French Commander in Chief was induced to give orders for the horrid massacre which succeeded. Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants, who had surrendered, and who had, in vain, implored the mercy of their conquerors, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arish (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred) dragged out in cold blood, *four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa*, to the sand hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen the skeletons of these unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills; a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized. It would give pleasure to the author of this work, as well as to every liberal mind, to hear these facts contradicted on substantial evidence. Indeed, I am sorry to add, that the charge of cruelty against the French general does not rest here. It having been reported that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their Commander in Chief had ordered all the French sick at Jaffa to be poisoned, I was led to make the inquiry to which every one who should have visited the spot would naturally have been directed, respecting an act of such singular, and, it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened, but that, while in Egypt, an individual was pointed out to us, as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands.' P. 128.

Now, in this passage, Dr. Wittman offers no other evidence whatever of the massacre, than that he had seen the skeletons scattered over the hills, and that the fact was universally believed. But how does Dr. Wittman know what skeletons those were which he saw. An oriental camp, affected by the plague, leaves as many skeletons behind it as a massacre. And though the Turks bury their dead, the Doctor complains of the very little depth at which they are interred; so that jackals, high winds, and a sandy soil, might, with great facility, undo the work of Turkish sextons. Let any one read Dr. Wittman's account of the camp near Jaffa, where the Turks remained so long in company with the military mission, and he will immediately perceive that a year after their departure, it might have been mistaken, with great ease, for the scene of a massacre. The spot which Dr. Wittman saw, might have been the spot where a battle had been fought. In the turbulent state of Syria, and amidst the variety of its barbarous inhabitants, can it be imagined that every bloody battle, with its precise limits and circumscription, is accu-

rately committed to tradition, and faithfully reported to inquirers? Besides, why scattered among hills? If 5000 men were marched out to a convenient spot and massacred, their remains would be heaped up in a small space, a mountain of the murdered, a vast ridge of bones and rottenness: As the doctor has described the bone scenery, it has much more the appearance of a battle and pursuit than of a massacre. After all, this gentleman lay eight months under the walls of Jaffa; whence comes it he has given us no better evidence? Were 5000 men murdered in cold blood, by a division of the French army, a year before, and did no man remain in Jaffa, who said, I saw it done—I was present when they were marched out—I went the next day, and saw the scarcely dead bodies of the victims? If Dr. Wittman received any such evidence, why did he not bring it forward. If he never inquired for such evidence, how is he qualified to write upon the subject? If he inquired for it, and could not find it, how is the fact credible?

This author cannot make the same excuse as Sir Robert Wilson, for the suppression of his evidence; as there could be no probability that Bonaparte would wreak his vengeance upon Soliman Aga, Mustapha Cawn, Sidi Mahomet, or any given Turks, upon whose positive evidence Dr. Wittman might have rested his accusation. Two such wicked acts, as the poisoning and the massacre, have not been committed within the memory of man;—within the same memory, no such extraordinary person has appeared, as he who is said to have committed them; and yet, though their commission must have been public, no one has yet said, *Vidi ego*. The accusation still rests upon the hearsay.

At the same time, widely disseminated as this accusation has been over Europe, it is extraordinary that it has not been contradicted in print; and, though Sir Robert Wilson's book must have been read in France, that no officer of the division of Bon, has come forward in vindication of a criminal who could repay sedulity so well. General Andreossi, who was with the First Consul in Syria, treats the accusations as contemptible falsehoods. But though we are convinced he is a man of character, his evidence has certainly less weight, as he may have been speaking in the mask of diplomacy. As to the general circulation of the report, he must think much higher of the sagacity of multitudes than we do, who would convert this into a reason of belief. Whoever thinks it so easy to get at truth in the midst of passion, should read the various histories of the recent rebellion in Ireland; or he may, if he chooses, believe with thousands of worthy Frenchmen, that the *infernale* was planned by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville. As for us, we will state what appears to us

to be the truth, should it even chance to justify a man, in whose lifetime Europe can know neither happiness nor peace.

The story of the poisoning is given by Dr. Wittman precisely in the same desultory manner as that of the massacre. 'An individual was pointed out to us as the executioner of these diabolical commands.' By how many persons was he pointed out as the executioner? by persons of what authority? and of what credibility? Was it asserted from personal knowledge, or merely from rumour? Whence comes it that such an agent, after the flight of his employer, was not driven away by the general indignation of the army? If Dr. Wittman had combined this species of information with his stories, his conduct would have been more just, and his accusations would have carried greater weight. At present, when he who had the opportunity of telling us so much, has told us so little, we are rather less inclined to believe, than we were before. We do not say these accusations are not true, but that Dr. Wittman has not proved them to be true.

Dr. Wittman did not see more than two cases of plague: he has given both of them at full length. The symptoms were, thirst, headach, vertigo, pains in the limbs, bilious vomitings, and painful tumours in the groins. The means of cure adopted were, to evacuate the primæ viæ; to give diluting and refreshing drinks; to expel the redundant bile by emetics; and to assuage the pain in the groin by fomentations and anodynes: Both cases proved fatal. In one of the cases, the friction with warm oil was tried in vain; but it was thought useful in the prevention of plague: The immediate effect produced was, to throw the person rubbed into a very copious perspiration. A patient in typhus, who was given over, recovered after this discipline was administered.

The boldness and enterprise of medical men, is quite as striking as the courage displayed in battle; and evinces how much the power of encountering danger depends upon habit. Many a military veteran would tremble to feed upon *pus*; to sleep in sheets running with water; or to draw up the breath of feverish patients. Dr. White might not, perhaps, have marched up to a battery with great alacrity; but Dr. White, in the year 1801, inoculated himself in the arms, with recent matter taken from the bubo of a pestiferous patient, and rubbed the same matter upon different parts of his body. With somewhat less of courage, and more of injustice, he wrapt his Arab servant in the bed of a person just dead of the plague. The Doctor died; and the Doctor's man (perhaps to prove his master's theory, that the plague was not contagious) ran away.—The bravery of our naval officers never produced any thing superior to this therapeutic heroism of the Doctor's.

Dr. Wittman has a chapter, which he calls '*An Historical Journal of the Plague*;' but the information which it contains amounts to nothing at all. He confesses that he has had no experience in the complaint; that he has no remedy to offer for its cure, and no theory for its cause.* The treatment of the minor plague of Egypt, Ophthalmia, was precisely the method common in this country; and was generally attended with success, where the remedies were applied in time.

Nothing can be conceived more dreadful than was the situation of the military mission in the Turkish camp; exposed to a mutinous Turkish soldiery, to infection, famine, and a scene of the most abominable filth and putrefaction; and this they endured for a year and a half, with the patience of apostles of peace, rather than war. Their occupation was to teach diseased barbarians, who despised them; and thought it no small favour that they should be permitted to exist in their neighbourhood. They had to witness the cruelties of despotism, and the passions of armed and ignorant multitudes; and all this embellished with the fair probability of being swept off, in some grand engagement, by the superior tactics and activity of the enemy to whom the Turks were opposed. To the filth, irregularity, and tumult of a Turkish camp, as it appeared to the British officers in 1800, it is curious to oppose the picture of one drawn by Busbequius in the middle of the sixteenth century: 'Turcæ in proximis campis tendebant; cum vero in eo loco tribus mensibus vixerim, fuit mihi facultas videndorum ipsorum castrorum, et cognoscendæ aliqua ex parte disciplinæ: qua de re nisi pauca attingam, habeas fortasse quod me accuses. Sumpto habitu Christianis hominibus in illis locis usitato, cum uno aut altero comite quacunque vagabar ignotus: primum videbam summo ordine cujusque corporis milites suis locis distributos, et, quod vix credat, qui nostratis militiæ consuetudinem novit, summum erat ubique silentium, summa quies, rixa nulla, nullum, cujusquam insolens factum: sed ne vox quidem ut vitulatio per lasciviam aut ebrietatem emissa. *Ad hæc summa mundities, nulla sterquilinia, nulla purgamenta,* nihil quod oculos aut nares offenderet. Quicquid est hujusmodi, aut defodiunt Turcæ, aut procul à conspectu submovent. Sed nec ullas compotationes aut convivia, nullum aleæ genus, magnum nostratis mulitiæ flagitium, videre erat: nulla lusoriarum chartarum, neque tesserarum damna norunt Turscæ.' *Augerii Busbequii, Epist.* 3. *p.* 187. *Hanoviæ* 1622. There is at present, in the Turkish army, a curious mix-

* One fact, mentioned by Dr. Wittman, appears to be curious;—that Constantinople was nearly free from plague during the interruption of its communication with Egypt.

ture of the severest despotism in the commander, and the most rebellious insolence in the soldier. When the soldier misbehaves, the Vizier cuts his head off, and places it under his arm. When the soldier is dissatisfied with the Vizier, he fires balls through his tent, and admonishes him, by these messengers, to a more pleasant exercise of his authority. That such severe punishments should not confer a more powerful authority, and give birth to a better discipline, is less extraordinary, if we reflect, that we hear only that the punishments are severe, not that they are steady, and that they are just; for if the Turkish soldiers were always punished with the same severity when they were in fault, and never but then, it is not in human nature to suppose, that the Turkish army would long remain in as contemptible a state as it now is. But the governed soon learn to distinguish between systematic energy, and the excesses of casual and capricious cruelty: the one awes them into submission, the other rouses them to revenge.

Dr. Wittman, in his chapter on the Turkish army attributes much of its degradation to the altered state of the corps of Janissaries; the original constitution of which corps was certainly both curious and wise. The children of Christians, made prisoners in the predatory incursions of the Turks, or procured in any other manner, were exposed in the public markets of Constantinople. Any farmer or artificer was at liberty to take one into his service, contracting with government to produce him again when he should be wanted; and, in the meantime, to feed and clothe him, and to educate him to such works of labour as are calculated to strengthen the body. As the Janissaries were killed off, the government drew upon this stock of hardy orphans for its levies; who, instead of hanging upon weeping parents at their departure, came eagerly to the camp, as the situation which they had always been taught to look upon as the theatre of their future glory; and towards which, all their passions and affections had been bent, from their earliest years. Arrived at the camp, they received at first low pay, and performed menial offices for the little division of Janissaries to which they were attached: 'Ad Gianizaros rescriptus, primo meret menstruo stipendio, paulo plus minus, unius ducati cum dimidio. Id enim militi novitio, et rudi satis esse censent. Sed tamen ne quid victus necessitati desit, cum ea decuria, in cujus contubernium adscitus est, gratis cibum capit, ea conditione, ut in culina reliquoque ministerio ei decuriæ serviat: usum armorum adeptus tyro, necdum tamen suis contubernalibus honore neque stipendio par, unam in sola virtute, se illis æquandi, spem habet: utpote si militiæ quæ prima se obtulerit, tali specimen sui dederit, ut-

digmus judicetur, qui tyrocinio exemptus, honoris gradu et stipendii magnitudine, reliquis Gianizaris par habeatur. Qua quidem spe plerique tyrones impulsi, multa præclare audent, et fortitudine cum veteranis certant.' *Busbequius De Re Mil. cont. Turc. Instit. Consilium.** The same author observes, that there was no rank or dignity in the Turkish army, to which a common Janissary might not arrive, by his courage or his capacity. This last is a most powerful motive to exertion, and is, perhaps, one leading cause of the superiority of the French arms. Ancient governments promote, from numberless causes, which ought to have no concern with promotion: revolutionary governments, and military despotisms, can make generals of persons who are fit for generals: to enable them to be unjust in all other instances, they are forced to be just in this. What, in fact, are the Sultan and Pachas of Paris, but Janissaries raised from the ranks? At present, the Janissaries are procured from the lowest of the people, and the spirit of the corps is evaporated. The low state of their armies is in some degree imputable to this; but the principal reason why the Turks are no longer as powerful as they were, is, that they are no longer enthusiasts, and that war is now become more a business of science, than of personal courage.

The person of the greatest abilities in the Turkish empire, is the Capitan Pacha; he has disciplined some ships and regiments in the European fashion, and would, if he were well seconded, bring about some important reforms in the Turkish empire. But what is become of all the reforms of the famous Gazi Hassan? The blaze of partial talents is soon extinguished. Never was there so great a prospect of improvement as that afforded by the exertions of this celebrated man, who, in spite of the ridicule thrown upon him by Baron de Tott, was such a man as the Turks cannot expect to see again once in a century. He had the whole power of the Turkish empire at his disposal for fifteen years; and after repeated efforts to improve the army, abandoned the scheme, as totally impracticable. The celebrated Bonneval, in his time, and de Tott since, made the same attempt with the same success. They are not to be taught; and six months after his death, every thing the present Capitan Pacha has done, will be immediately pulled to pieces. The present Grand Vizier is a man of no ability. There are some very entertaining instances of his gross ignorance cited in the 133d page of the travels. Upon the

* This is a very spirited appeal to his countrymen on the tremendous power of the Turks; and, with the substitution of France for Turkey, is so applicable to the present times, that it might be spoken as a speech in Parliament with great effect.

news being communicated to him, that the earth was round, he observed, that this could not be the case; for the people and the objects on the other side would, in that case, fall off: and that the earth could not move round the sun; for, if so, a ship bound from Jaffa to Constantinople, instead of proceeding to the capital would be carried to London, or elsewhere. We cannot end this article, without confessing, with great pleasure, the entertainment we have received from the work which occasions it. It is an excellent lounging book, full of pleasant details, never wearying by prolixity, or offending by presumption, and is apparently the production of a respectable, worthy man: So far we can conscientiously recommend it to the public; for any thing else,

Non cuivis homini contingit adire, &c. &c. &c.

ART. V. *A Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems of Geology.* In answer to the Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth, by Professor Playfair. Edinburgh & London. 1802.

PROFESSOR PLAYFAIR's book naturally called for an answer from some of the disciples of Werner. 'A comparative view of the two theories, however, is by no means a proper title for this publication: it contains a violent attack upon the doctrines of Dr. Hutton, and a very partial and zealous defence of the aqueous solution of minerals. As we have not yet had the good fortune of being converted to either system, we may boast at least of perfect impartiality in considering this controversy, though we are afraid that neither of the belligerent parties will be very ready to acknowledge the merit of our neutrality.

After a slight sketch of the leading characters of the two rival theories, the author proposes to compare them to each other: *First*, As to the probability of the general principles upon which they depend: And *secondly*, As to the support which they derive respectively from the visible structure of the globe, and from the appearances which minerals actually exhibit. We do not propose to give a complete analysis of this investigation; and having, on a former occasion, delivered our sentiments at considerable length as to the theory of Dr. Hutton, we shall here confine ourselves, in a good measure, to the positions of his antagonists—to the detection of those false reasonings in the work before us, that are made the basis either of unjust objections to that theory, or of unjust encomiums on the other.

We may begin, therefore, with remarking, that in contrasting the Huttonian and Neptunian theories, it appears to us not to be quite fair to urge any objection against the former, that does not

apply strictly to the hypothesis of the igneous fusion and consolidation of minerals. The advocates of that theory have, indeed, taken a much wider range; and have advanced many very questionable positions, as to the constant agency of their internal heat, and the great and eternal circle of destruction and renovation in which they have supposed the materials of the universe to revolve. But with the errors or defects that may be found in this part of the system, the Neptunist, we conceive, is not entitled to reproach them, since his own theory gives no explanation whatever of those difficulties, which they have at least attempted to resolve. The Neptunist professes to explain the present condition of the world, by the supposition of a previous dissolution in water; but he neither tells us what was its state before this great dissolution was accomplished, nor ventures to provide for the reparation of its apparent decay: his theory reaches neither to the past nor the future; it accounts for present appearances only; and therefore cannot enter at all into competition, or comparison, with any system that carries its conjectures beyond the beginning and the end of the world. The Neptunian theory alleges, merely, that all the solid materials of the world have been formerly dissolved in water. The Huttonian alleges, that they have been melted, or softened by heat. This is their proper point of contrast, and of comparison: for, as the one goes no farther, it cannot be compared with what is beyond it in the other. The Huttonian may be wrong in all his ideas of the reproduction of continents, and the succession of strata; and he may yet be right in his hypothesis of the igneous origin of all existing minerals. It is upon that hypothesis alone, however, that the Neptunist has any right to contend with him; and, in estimating the comparative merits of this theory, we would lay every thing out of view, to which no counterpart could be found in the other. A good deal of the argument in this volume might have been spared, by attending to this distinction.

The author's first great attack, however, is directed against the supposition of a constant internal heat, of such intensity as to effect all the wonders we behold. This supposition, he contends, is not only extremely improbable and extravagant, but actually involves such contradictions and absurdities, as 'to afford a direct demonstration of the falsity of the Huttonian hypothesis.' In support of this very decided language, we have a formidable enumeration of the common objections, as to the possibility of maintaining a constant heat in such a situation: and some terrifying calculations, as to the enormous intensity of it, that would be required to concoct such a world as we inhabit. The demonstrative part of the argument, however, comes afterwards; it is but fair to the author, to lay it before our readers in his own words.

'It is an invariable and essential property of heat, to diffuse itself over space till an equilibrium of temperature is established; and where there is any solid matter, as the medium of diffusion, its distribution is more rapid. If an intense heat has always existed at the central parts of the globe, this heat must diffuse itself towards the circumference, and the diffusion of it must continue till the whole arrive at a common temperature. The arrangement, therefore, contrived in the Huttonian system for the successive renewal of the habitable part of the globe, and repairing the waste to which it is subjected, is inherently defective. It is always becoming less fit to produce its effects, as the heat at the centre must always be diminishing; and it must come at length to be subverted, by the temperature being rendered uniform over the whole.' pp. 50-51.

And afterwards—

'Heat, it is sufficiently known, is propagated through dense bodies with considerable celerity. If a central fire, therefore, of the greatest intensity, exist, the heat must be propagated through the substance of the earth towards its surface; and this propagation ought to be such, that, even in that period of time of which we have authentic records, its effects ought to have been apparent. Yet we have no reason to believe, that there is any change in the medium temperature of the globe. The climate of particular countries may be altered, from cultivation, or other local circumstances; but no important general alteration appears to have taken place: if it had, its effects must have been conspicuous, by symptoms, too well marked, not to indicate their cause. Nay, no change of this kind appears to have happened for a much longer period than that which man has ascertained. It may be affirmed that the temperature which at present prevails, is that necessary for vegetation, animal life, and, in general, for all the operations of nature; nor could a habitable world like ours, have existed with a medium temperature many degrees inferior to that which now prevails. The heat at the surface, therefore, must have always been nearly the same; and, though a central heat has been existing according to the Huttonian theory, for that immense succession of time, during which our world, and others preceding it, have existed, there has been no propagation of it through the substance of the earth. If we can rely on any deduction whatever from the knowledge we possess, we may rest assured, that a system involving such a supposition is false; nor would it be easy even to imagine any process of reasoning, by which its falsity could be more clearly demonstrated.' pp. 53-54.

From these views, the author of the Comparative View is led to conclude, that

—'there is an accumulation of proof, which prejudice itself, we should be tempted to believe, could not resist; and which is more than sufficient to establish the conclusion, that whatever praise may be due to the Huttonian system as a splendid hypothesis, it has no claim to the more exalted rank of a just theory.' p. 57.

Now, the whole force of this argument depends, as it appears to us, upon assuming that as a part of the Huttonian hypothesis, which the Huttonians will never admit, viz. that there is, in the subterranean region, only a limited quantity of heat, which is cut off from the possibility of receiving any increment or supply. Upon this supposition, indeed, the intensity of the heat must be in a state of perpetual diminution; and it must necessarily come in time to be diffused pretty equally throughout the whole surrounding mass. But the Huttonians, we conceive, have never limited themselves to such a certain hoard or deposit of heat. They have proceeded upon the supposition of a perpetual fountain or source of it; and have invented a variety of hypotheses, which, though not very probable, are not 'demonstrably false,' to account for the phenomenon of its constant production in that particular situation. Now, we apprehend, that the demonstrative argument derived from the tendency of caloric to diffuse itself, loses much of its cogency when applied to this view of the case.

If quantities of heat be generated successively at a great depth under the surface, all the conditions of the Huttonian hypothesis will be fulfilled without any of the absurd consequences that the author of the Comparative View has declared to be inseparable from it. If the heat, so generated, be inclosed among bodies through which heat is but slowly transmitted, it may plainly preserve its expansive activity for a very long time, without increasing the temperature of the surface of the earth. The heat of a pretty large surface, raised to 200° of Wedgewood, is scarcely perceptible through two or three feet of ordinary masonry; and the surface of lava may often be walked upon with impunity, while the fluid matter is only covered with a crust a few inches in thickness. Still, however, it is no doubt true, that the inclosed heat will transpire, however, slowly, and that the process will end by reducing the whole mass to the same temperature. But then it ought to be recollected, that the mass, here, is not the globe of the earth only, but the whole material universe; and the equalization of temperature is retarded indefinitely, partly by the immense extent of the sphere itself, and partly by the fact, that it contains within it various springs and sources of heat, in the neighbourhood of which the temperature must always be incomparably higher than in a more remote situation. From a central fountain, which is always full and overflowing, heat penetrates slowly, and in small quantities, towards the surface of the earth. In its diffusion over this increasing circumference, it must be gradually diminished in intensity; and what reaches the surface, is partly taken off by the atmosphere, and partly radiated towards

the other planetary bodies around it. There are two errors, then, in the argument of the author before us; since there is, according to the Huttonians, not a store or magazine only, but a spring and source of heat at the centre; and since the diffusion of this heat is not limited or stopped by the solid surface of the earth, but continues onwards, and is propagated to the air, and the remoter bodies in the heavens.

These considerations, however, one of which is assumed as a necessary condition of the theory, and the other is irresistibly suggested by fact and observation, seem to leave but little weight in the 'direct demonstration' which our author has announced in terms of such unlimited confidence. Heat, slowly permeating the substance of the earth, and oozing with difficulty through a mass of substances extremely ill adapted for its transmission, may be kept at an equable temperature at the surface, by a very moderate allowance for its dispersion into the space around it; and if this slow waste be supplied at the centre, from the same fountains that originally produced what has thus been expended, it is evident that the heat there will retain all its original intensity and activity, and be adequate to the accomplishment of all that such a principle can perform. Although the Huttonian hypothesis of heat, therefore, be liable to very weighty objections, we are not of opinion that this author has given 'a complete demonstration of its falsity, from the known laws of caloric.'

In such a science as geology, however, confidence is more excusable in the opponents, than in the advocates of a system; and in stating the evidence of the Neptunian theory, the author of the Comparative View has laid himself still more open to censure, than in attacking the principle of the Huttonians. It is the sum of the former theory, that all the mineral substances which this earth presents to us, have been formerly held in solution by water. To the great and obvious objection, that many of these substances are soluble so sparingly in that fluid, that it would require much more water than the whole globe could contain, to dissolve but a little part of them, the author of this volume has attempted to answer, first, by borrowing a large quantity of heat from his opponents, by the help of which, he says, the chaotic fluid *might* acquire qualities, 'the effects of which it is impossible to calculate;' and then by observing, that as all the substances with which we are now acquainted, and probably many more, were present in this imaginary fluid,

—'each substance would exert an attraction more or less efficacious to every other present, or, at least, according to the old chemical notion, it would exert attractions to many of them; and the effect which would result from these complicated attractions, it is impossible

to estimate. The number of simple substances found in nature, and which must of course have been all present in this fluid, exceeds forty. Suppose the half of these to be in such small quantities as to be imperceptible in their action, still, from the numerous attractions of the others, *any imaginable effect might arise.*' p. 78.

Of a theory that is founded upon such vague and extravagant assumptions, it seems unnecessary to propose any formal confutation: Yet nothing certainly was ever more remote from a scientific analogy, than that which is made the basis of the preceding argument. Though the solvent powers of water may, no doubt, be increased, by holding one or two particular substances in solution, yet it is certain that the addition of a foreign body to such a compound mixture, will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, occasion the *precipitation* of some of the substances that were previously held in solution. By the addition of an acid, for instance, water may become capable of dissolving the metals; but if we add an alkali to the solution, the metal will be immediately deposited. To suppose that all the mineral substances in the world will mutually act as solvents to each other, and exert their respective affinities, with such a nicely adjusted proportion of force, as to retain the whole in a state of complete solution, without the precipitation of a single particle, must be allowed to involve as much apparent absurdity and improbability, as ever exposed philosophy to the derision of the ignorant. In this primary operation of the liquefaction of mineral substances, we cannot help thinking, therefore, that the Huttonian theorists have somewhat the advantage of their antagonists. Give them heat enough, and they will undoubtedly be able to melt all the bodies in question: but the Neptunists, with a whole globe full of water, will never be able to dissolve the same substances, without the aid of the most gratuitous and improbable suppositions. Admitting, therefore, that the heat and the water were equally difficult to be met with, it is plain, that the one accomplishes its work much more easily and simply than the other. It may fairly be demanded of the Neptunist, also, in what way he accounts for the ultimate deposition and crystallization of the substances thus harmoniously dissolved in the water. As their affinities were so exactly balanced, they ought clearly to continue in solution for ever; and if he is obliged to recur to Divine interference on the occasion, it is just as allowable to suppose that the Creator formed the world originally, as we find it at this day, with all those equivocal and delusive marks of aqueous or igneous agency, by which our theorists have since been confounded. The Huttonian, however, has no occasion to extricate himself in this manner. From the first moment of creation, his two great processes would be set agoing:

the winds and the waters would crumble down the lofty places of the globe from without; and the central fire would consolidate and elevate the strata from within.

Upon the subject of *stratified* bodies, it might have been expected that the two theories would have agreed, since even the Huttonian admits, that they have received this peculiar arrangement by deposition from water. The Neptunians, however, will not accept of these terms of accommodation; for all the primary and highly inclined *strata*, they allege, have been separated from the water, not by deposition, but by crystallization; and the materials of all the rest have been consolidated, without the interposition of heat. Both these assertions, it appears to us, are attended with a good deal of difficulty. Regular stratification seems much more clearly to indicate a mechanical deposit, than any species of crystallization; and the vertical, or inclined position of the strata, to which the origin is ascribed, is by no means sufficiently explained by the latter supposition. The great extent and continuity of the strata of primary *schistus*, for instance, the simple curvature which they affect, and that parallelism of their layers, which, in all their bendings, is so accurately preserved, are phenomena that do not belong to any species of crystallization that we happen to have heard of; and certainly favour the idea of a mechanical deposit from water, originally horizontal in all its extent, and inflected afterwards by the application of some external force. The vertical position of those strata, too, is but ill explained by the theory of crystallization. Crystals will attach themselves indiscriminately to all the sides of the solid containing the fluid of solution; and if these were among the first substances that were separated from the chaotic fluid, they should have been arranged along the bottom of the primæval bason, rather than piled up in fantastic pyramids in the middle of it; at any rate, their position ought to have been more varied and irregular.

The explanation of the Neptunist, however, is still more unsatisfactory with regard to those secondary strata that indicate but little of a crystalline structure in their interior, and yet are frequently found in a position very highly inclined to the horizon. This position has been assumed by them, according to the author of the Comparative View, from the combination of a certain tendency to crystallization, with the power of gravitation which would have deposited them horizontally. Now, this appears, to us, to be in every point of view a most unscientific explanation. In the first place, there is no room for presuming, that a perfect crystallization could assume a laminated structure, and vertical position, rather than any other; and, in the second

place, it seems evident, that where the crystallization was in any degree incomplete, the position of the whole mass could never be effected in such a manner, as to produce a kind of compromise between that which would have been assumed by the perfect crystal, and that which gravitation would have given to any other piece of matter. The one or the other of these principles must predominate, and dispose absolutely of the whole mass. The crystals will either attach themselves to the sides of the containing solid, according to the laws of their formation, in which case the uncrystallized part will be separated from them entirely; or the whole mass will assume the position imposed upon it by the laws of gravity, while its tendency to crystallize will be indicated by its internal structure alone. No diagonal will ever be formed between the horizontal line of gravitation, and the imaginary perpendicular, which seems to be made the characteristic of crystallization in this theory. The author himself, indeed, does not appear very well satisfied with this explanation; for, immediately afterwards, he supposes that some of the inclined strata may have sunk unequally, or even may have been lifted up, in some few instances, by the expansive force of a subterranean heat. A few more concessions, of this magnitude, would bring the rival theories pretty near to each other. The *consolidation* of the secondary *strata*, by the mere apposition of their particles, does also appear to us to be a very improbable supposition; while the preservation of the stratified form in these substances, which, according to the Huttonian hypothesis, have been subjected to the action of a violent heat, may be accounted for, in a great degree, by the great and equable pressure to which they were subjected, and the tenacity and viscidity which most of them may be supposed to have retained.

Upon the subject of *unstratified* bodies, our author is not a little embarrassed with those granitic veins which the Huttonians have quoted in support of their hypothesis. Granite, according to the Neptunists, is the oldest of all mineral bodies; and veins, they acknowledge, are always posterior in formation to the strata in which they are included. From the dilemma which veins of this substance occasion, our author endeavours to escape, by supposing the granite in the veins to be of a different formation from that in the mass, and to have been deposited by infiltration and crystallization from water. It seems almost impossible, however, to receive this explanation; when it is considered, 1*st*, that these veins are most frequently connected with vast masses of original granite, and evidently appear to be a continuation of the same substance; and 2*d*, that they frequently proceed from the main body of the granite, *upwards*, into the adjoining strata, so that

the process of infiltration could not possibly have taken place. In this division of the work, upon unstratified bodies, we have met with many strong and ingenious objections to the Huttonian theory, founded principally upon the *alternations* of the strata, and their absolute *graduation* into each other; which we have no longer room so consider.

Upon the subject of *metallic veins*, the author of the Comparative View adopts the Neptunian theory in its fullest extent, and holds, that their contents have been undoubtedly consolidated from the water that continued to cover the original rocks in which the fissures had been made. That they are not stratified horizontally, he thinks, is occasioned by the crystalline form of the substances they contain, which would preferably attach themselves to the sides. If this were the case, however, we should certainly expect to find the superior surface of the rocks, in which these veins are found, covered with crystallizations of the same nature, and forming a continuous mass, of which the veins would appear like elongations. There are many of the metals, however, that are scarcely ever found, except in veins; and the veins we believe, are never observed to proceed from any large or continuous mass of the same materials. The fragments of foreign substances, that are frequently found in veins, afford also some presumption against the Neptunian hypothesis.

In the concluding chapter, the author proposes to estimate the comparative merit of the two theories, by their correspondence with the appearances of particular minerals. The instances of *agates*, and of *metallic* bodies, are those in which he is reduced to the greatest straits, in supporting the Neptunian doctrines. Agates, he says, (p. 188.) are formed by water, holding jasper, chalcedony, &c. in solution, infiltrating slowly into cavities which have been left by the extrication of air from the mass of whin, or trap, &c. before it was perfectly consolidated. Now, there are many obvious objections to this account of their formation. In the first place, whin, and the other substances in which agates are usually imbedded, are, for the most part, unstratified bodies, and have consequently been formed, according to the Neptunian theory, by crystallization chiefly. If this was the case, however, they could at no time be soft enough to admit of the extrication of air, or the subsequent formation of cavities. In the second place, it may be demanded, how it happened that the water of solution, percolating through a great thickness of rock, should have deposited none of the substances with which it was charged in the conduits through which it passed. Thirdly, it may be asked, how this water contrived to deposit an encrustation of equal thickness on the upper and the under sides of this

cavity; how, after this was accomplished, it found means to escape through the impenetrable crust in which it had inclosed itself; and how a succeeding portion was enabled to pass through it a second time, so as to fill up, with a new deposit, the cavity that had been left by the former. We believe the fact to be indisputable, that many agates are altogether impermeable by water. Finally, it may be asked, how the Neptunist sets this extraordinary current in motion, by which the water of solution is carried so industriously to and from the nidus of the agate. The operation is supposed to take place under the level of the ocean, and among bodies that must be completely saturated with moisture, as they were formed in the midst of it.

With regard to the *metals*, again our author admits, that —'the state in which they are found, appears to afford a strong argument in favour of the Huttonian hypothesis; for the fluidity, from which they have consolidated, may have been produced by fusion; but we scarcely can point out by what solvent it could have been effected.'

From the specimens, however, that have been found, where the precious metals appear shooting in minute ramifications through masses of quartz and other refractory substances, he concludes, that their consolidation could not have taken place from a state of simple fusion, since the metal must have remained fluid long after the quartz had concreted. This argument, however, which is urged with great confidence, appears to us to apply only to those cases (hitherto, we believe, unobserved), in which the metal shall be found impressing the quartz with its own particular form of crystallization; for, if a quantity of gold and silver was involved in a mass of fluid quartz, it appears to us by no means impossible, that the quartz, upon concreting, should intersect and retain the *fluid* gold in all those capricious entanglements and ramifications, which it is afterwards found to occupy, when both substances are completely cooled. At all events, it seems to be admitted that the Neptunist cannot point out, even by conjecture, any way in which these substances should have been consolidated, in their metallic state, from a solution in water.

Among a great number of strong and formidable objections, which the author brings forward in this chapter against the Huttonian hypothesis, the most striking and original is founded upon the presence of pyrites in specimens of coal almost entirely deprived of its bitumen.

'Mr. Kirwan relates that the Kilkenny coal, which is of all others the most completely destitute of bituminous matter, contains pyrites; and Dr. Hutton himself mentions a specimen being in his possession of plumbago, (which he considers as the last of the series, or as coal

completely deprived of bitumen) studded with pyrites. The explanation of these appearances, according to the Huttonian system, involves a direct contradiction in terms. To account for the formation of this species of coal, it is said to have been fused with an entire absence of pressure, so that all its bituminous matter has escaped. Pyrites, again, is a substance said to be formed by fusion, but under a strong pressure, by which its sulphur, a substance at least as volatile as bitumen, is kept in combination with the iron. It would therefore, according to this theory, be impossible that coal of this kind and pyrites should exist together; the circumstance supposed necessary for the formation of the one being that which must inevitably have destroyed the other. p. 217-18.

An argument of great apparent force is also founded on the appearance of some granites, where crystals of felspar and quartz are found mutually to impress each other. As these substances are fusible at very different temperatures, our author concludes, that it could not be from a state of simple fusion that they were thus simultaneously consolidated; because, the quartz must have assumed its own form long before the felspar had lost its fluidity. The difficulty, however, is scarcely less upon the Neptunian hypothesis of crystallization from an aqueous solution, as there are no two substances, we believe, in nature, that can be supposed to crystallize at the same moment, from the same solvent. Nay, the Huttonians have proposed an explanation of the phenomenon, that goes far to remove the objection which it affords to their theory. It has been found by experiment, that felspar and quartz, reduced to powder, and put into the furnace together, in the proportions that usually occur in granite, run into fusion at a temperature very little higher than is necessary for the fusion of felspar alone. Felspar, therefore, is proved to act as a flux to quartz; or, in other words, melted felspar at a certain temperature, becomes capable of dissolving quartz, just as water dissolves any of the ordinary salts. The quartz so dissolved, however may probably be kept in a state of fluidity as long as the solvent itself continues fluid; and as it will necessarily be separated at that moment, there seems to be no great difficulty in explaining the phenomenon of their simultaneous consolidation. This explanation, which is certainly extremely ingenious, was suggested by Sir James Hall, in a paper in the Edinburgh Transactions.

The author does not controvert the fact, of the remarkable analogy that is found to subsist between whinstone and lava; but he accounts for it, by supposing that whinstone rocks have been common in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, and that lava is whinstone that has been fused by their heat. Though this unquestionably *may* have been the case, the presumption is certainly the other way. A substance compacted from solution in water,

can scarcely be supposed to have that very grain, structure, and appearance, which is found to result from the actual fusion of the same materials. There is proof that it may be formed in one way; there is nothing but conjecture for its being formed in the other.

Upon the whole, we have perused this volume without any abatement of our scepticism, and are inclined to think that it will not even shake the faith of any well-grounded Huttonian. The book is very respectably written; and though the style is not uncommonly elegant, the composition is always very laudably perspicuous and concise. Logical inaccuracies, however, are always most glaring and offensive in a writer who expresses himself distinctly, and seems to think clearly. The strange reasonings that are introduced in support of the first principles of the Neptunian theory, excite a species of surprise by no means akin to admiration; and, among all the wonders that Geology presents to our view, we think the most unaccountable is, the zeal and the confidence of the theorists.

ART. VI. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful Knowledge.* Vol. V. Philadelphia. Dobson. 1802.

THIS volume, one of the very few that ever issue from the American press, will not, we apprehend, repay the labour of him who may be induced to wade through it. It contains a few insulated facts of little importance, and some very unsuccessful attempts at theory. The six first papers are communicated by Dr. Priestley, and are distinguished, if possible, by a more eminent want of scientific precision, than even his periodical volumes of chemical experiments. They are apparently the scourings of his old diaries, eked out with some desultory and inconsistent remarks; a few notices of the present state of his ever-varying opinions; and several attacks, very temperate indeed, but proportionably feeble upon those discoveries, which his total want of genius for philosophising has obliged him to leave to men who did little more, in the way of practice, than repeat his experiments. Upon these six articles we shall content ourselves with offering a few very general criticisms.

In the first place, the experiments, where they are at all uncommon, have evidently been made with impure substances. We should exceed all bounds, were we to quote examples of results, which are obviously owing to the presence of extraneous matters, although they are ascribed by Dr. Priestley to the exhi-

bition of certain simple and homogeneous substances. All his assertions, in those cases, should evidently have been made with respect to the impurities, not the bodies, which he pretended to use. Secondly, The language of these tracts is full of discordant theory. It is indeed a most uncouth and motley assemblage of terms, taken both from the old and new nomenclature. Lastly, We must be excused for suspecting very great inaccuracy in some of the facts; or, at least, in the conduct of the experiments which are related. This may, in some of these instances, be accounted for, partly by the first, and partly by the second remark, which we have just made. But the statement in p. 3. that caustic fixed alkali was sent in a state of vapour through a tube containing iron, and gave an *acidulous* liquor in the receiver, is to us utterly incredible, and inexplicable, upon any supposition but that of the grossest inaccuracy, either in making or describing the experiment. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these papers defy all attempts to analyse them, even if there was any inducement to undertake the task. The same remark may be applied to the greater number of the articles contained in this volume. We shall therefore only notice the few exceptions to this observation which we have been fortunate enough to meet with; and at present we shall begin with what we consider as the most interesting communication that the present publication has to boast of—the short and distinct statement, given by Mr. Strickland, of the uses to which the thermometer may be applied in Navigation.

This very valuable communication consists of two well kept and concise journals, with a letter, sketching the inferences that may be drawn from the observations, and a chart of the Atlantic, on which the voyages that gave rise to the observations, and the greater part of the observations themselves, are clearly traced. Mr. Strickland performed these two voyages across the Atlantic, in the years 1794 and 1795. The first object of his experiments was, to ascertain the existence of a current, which he suspected to flow as a branch of the gulf stream, in a northerly or north-easterly direction. The observations recorded in the outward bound journal appear fully to verify this conjecture, and they prove also the regularity with which the temperature of the sea varies, according to the proximity of soundings. We shall enable our readers to judge for themselves upon these points, by giving a summary of the most important and conclusive trials.

The temperature of the water near the Lewes islands was about 56° of Fahrenheit. From thence to the longitude of 41° 15′ west, it gradually increased; and for eleven days, during which the vessel passed through nineteen degrees of longi-

tude, the temperature remained at 58°, which is supposed by our author to be the ordinary heat of the Atlantic, above the latitude of 50° in autumn. In longitude 30° 43′ west, the temperature suddenly rose 3°, and continued to rise while the vessel passed through eight degrees of longitude, when the temperature had increased no less than 10°. Again, the temperature fell in longitude 41° west, and continued fluctuating between 64 and 62 of Fahrenheit. But when the vessel had made a little farther progress, the temperature rose to a still higher degree than before; and, after remaining for some time at 72°, it again fell, and continued falling, until in longitude 48°, the thermometer stood at 52°, and the vessel was found to be on the great bank east of Newfoundland.

The subsequent observations, both in the outward and homeward bound voyages, concur to shew, that at the longitudes above-mentioned, the temperature of the sea rises and falls in the manner now described; and that, on the approach of the vessel to soundings, it uniformly falls. There is a difference of no less than 20° of Fahrenheit, between the temperature near the great bank, and the temperature on the edge of the gulf-stream.

It appears, farther, that in that part of the vessel's course where the great rise was experienced, vast quantities of gulf weed were observed floating, and great shoals of flying fish. This circumstance greatly strengthens the first conclusion which the thermometrical observations so plainly suggest, viz. that so high as latitude 50° north, a branch of the gulf-stream is to be found, sent off in a northerly direction from the main body, which moves in an easterly course. But in the middle of this stream it would appear that there is some interruption; for the temperature suddenly falls, continues low for a considerable breadth, and then rises to its former height. The journal, too, makes no mention of any gulf-weed or flying fishes in this part of the course. Our author accounts for this very singular intermission of the northern branch, by supposing some colder current to flow in from the north-west. But we cannot easily conceive such a phænomenon; and are inclined to suspect Mr. Strickland of considerable inaccuracy in his ideas upon this matter. How can a stream of water be interrupted by a cross stream, or cut by such a stream at any angle? If two currents meet in an oblique angle, part of the water will be thrown back, and part will move off in a diagonal path. But surely the continuity of one stream can never be interrupted by a new stream, and then resume its former course. We can imagine the gulf-stream to be divided by one flowing from the same quarter, in the very

same direction: But why should this middle stream be colder than the other? It is, on the other hand, scarcely possible to figure two streams meeting in the same line, without forming an indissoluble union. Yet some phænomenon of this nature appears to be indicated by the observations, if the thermometrical experiments of our author can be relied on. Or, perhaps, a large bank, or island, divides the gulf-stream into two, protecting a large portion of the ocean in the middle of those currents. Such a supposition, indeed, appears to us the most probable of any which can be made, to account for the observations.

Before leaving Mr. Strickland's very interesting paper, we must gratify our readers with relating a fact equally honourable to both of the parties concerned in it. Mr. Strickland conceived that the thermometer might be applied to the important purposes of indicating the approach of land, and settling the courses of the great currents. For accomplishing the latter object, he proposes the equipment of a vessel, which may be devoted to the employment of making various runs across the Atlantic, at different latitudes, with persons qualified to conduct thermometrical experiments, in the manner pointed out by the present paper. But he communicated the other part of his plan to the captain of the vessel in which he sailed; and although this gentleman very naturally entertained, at first, the strongest prepossession against all such ideas, he was soon prevailed upon, by examining the results of Mr. Strickland's observations, to give them no small degree of confidence.

'He was at last,' says our author, 'so much pleased with the accuracy of the thermometer, and with the security in which he had sailed in consequence of it, and so clearly perceived the advantage to be derived from it in many instances, that he declared he would never more go to sea without one.' p. 92, 93.

This circumstance reflects great honour upon Captain Allyn, a member of that profession which, of all others, tends most to form habits of bigotry and indiscriminate prejudice against every innovation. But, at least equal praise is due to Mr. Strickland, who could succeed in convincing an old seaman, that the chart and the compass are in some cases less faithful guides than the thermometer.

The nineteenth article appears to us deserving of some attention. It contains a very brief statement of a most singular fact, a fact which, if well authenticated, opens a new and curious analogy between the habitudes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Colonel Bull, of Virginia, a gentleman, we are told, of information and veracity, relates, that in digging through a rich bottom of low ground, well covered with

oak and other trees, his workmen discovered, at the depth of between five and six feet, a blossom, not in full bloom, of a lilac colour, growing from a root. This proved, upon examination, to be the same kind of blue flower that grew on the surface. But the Colonel thinks that it must have been all along under ground, as the soil was a loamy solid clay, in which large trees flourished, and must have taken some centuries to form. If this unexpected phænomenon should prove to have been accurately observed, we shall possess a case of vegetable torpor, similar to the case of animals supporting their existence in the heart of blocks and trees. Mr. Bull's account is, however, extremely meagre and unsatisfactory.

The want of refinement in the arts and in *Belles Lettres*, is by no means the only circumstance that distinguishes our kinsmen in North America, from the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere. They appear to be proportionally deficient in scientific attainments. The volume now before us, contains the whole accumulation of American discovery and observation, during a course of peaceful years. It extends to 328 pages; of which 89 (including the valuable paper of our countryman, Mr. Strickland) are contributed by foreigners; 150 consist of journals kept by a person sent to make meteorological and astronomical observations, that is notes of the weather, and of the geographical position of certain places in the territory of the United States; the remaining 89 pages, upon more general subjects, are, we believe, the work of Americans; and we will venture to say, that, of all the academical trifles which have ever been given to the world, these 89 pages are the most trivial and dull. Our readers will judge with what difficulty this mite has been collected, when we mention the subjects of several communications.

One article, is a demonstration of the figure of the earth, in answer to the hypothesis of St. Pierre. Our readers will doubtless feel some indignation, at finding that a public scientific body admits into its transactions any communication which can, for a moment, rescue the ridiculous effusions of the sentimentalist, now alluded to, from the contempt with which they were universally received all over Europe, by every man of the slightest pretensions to science.

Another paper, contains the description of some person's patent for improved fireplaces. It is exactly an ill written newspaper advertisement. Two papers are inserted upon the culture and cure of peach trees; and, in order to eke out the natural deficiency of matter, an essay on Vegetable Polypi, and Insects, by M. de Nemours, is admitted to occupy thirteen pages. After looking at the following extracts from this nauseous thing

our readers will probably agree with us in thinking, that no daily print, on this side of the Atlantic, would have inserted it, in the vacant space of a column, during the greatest scarcity of news. The following is the introduction :—

'Il est très facile, et peut-être assez naturel, à un animal aussi ravageux que l'homme, de traiter avec peu de considération les plantes qui se laissent dévorer si paisiblement.

'Cependant je ne voudrais pas avoir offensè les Roses.

'Personne n'est plus disposè que moi à croire, avec les anciens, que tout arbre est l'azyle, ou la prison, d'une nymphe.' p. 104.

The following is the conclusion of this paper :—

'Cet oxigène dont les fleurs sont si avides, et dont elles se pénétrent si rapidement, en si énorme quantité pour leur petit volume, est *l'air vital* par excellence. Il les embrase, elles aiment, elles jouissent-sont-ce les amours de la plante qu'elles font ? sont-ce les leurs? ce sont tous les deux. La mère ne peut être entierement insensible au bonheur de ses enfans, d'enfans qui font partie de son propre corps—La plante est devenue papillon; ou pour mieux dire, elle s'est couverte d'une foule de *papillons plantes* de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qu'elle a tirès de son sein, et qui semblables presqu'en tout aux autres papillons, ont une vie très courte, la dépensent en voluptés sans songer a l'entretenir, exhalent leur tendresse en parfume, s'occupent avec délices et sans relache de la génération; et se fanent des qu'elle est consommée laissant * * * * au fonds d'un *oviare* * * * * des *œufs* * * * * fécondés et féconds.

'Trouvez vous la parité suffisament exacte? jugez vous encore que la distance soit incommensurable entre la nymphe, ou les nymphes d'une *mimeuse* et l'ame d'un ciron.

'Je ne décide rien. Je ne suis qu'un enfant curieux. Je vous apporte les fleurs que j'ai cueillies, et les papillons que j'ai pu attrapper. Savans professeurs, dites moi ce que c'est?' p. 115, 116.

Some of the American philosophers themselves seem to have adopted the language of the ludicrously sentimental class to which the author of this singular paper belongs, and to have thought it a good substitute for the eloquence and power of fine writing, which Providence has denied to their race. In p. 55, a naturalist, discussing the causes of the poisonous qualities observed in some honeys, alludes to a species of *erica*, (we believe the *erica vulgaris*), by the name of '*blooming heather*;' and quotes *Burns*, in a foot note, as his authority. He afterwards talks of the bees 'quaffing of the nectar of the flowers:' p. 57. He describes certain savannas, as 'finely painted with the flowers of the *kalmia angustifolia*:' p. 59. Instead of '*tame bees*,' he is pleased to say '*cultivated bees*:' p. 65. This author (Dr. Smith Barton) is a great quoter; and, by the manner in which he cites,

but more especially by his remarks upon classical learning, we are inclined to suspect, that a man who reads the easier Latin poets may not be met with every day in North America.

'The ancients, who, in some respects at least, were equal to the moderns, appear to have paid much attention to this subject. Virgil and Columella have both told us what plants ought to grow about apiaries. It is unnecessary to repeat, in this place, what the two Roman writers have said on the subject. The *Georgics* of the Mantuan poet are in the hands of every man of taste; and the work of Columella *should* be read, wherever agriculture engages the attention of gentlemen,' p. 69.

We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the following passage from the same paper. The moralizing part of it is truly American; and the epithet applied to Virgil's description of Galatea, is one of the most amusing that we have ever heard beyond the sound of Bow-Bell. It is only necessary to add, for the information of the American Academies, that the quotation is nothing at all to the purpose, as there is no allusion to *honey* from the beginning to the end of it.

'To assist and to direct the labours of these little insects, the knowledge and the hand of man are required. Let, then, this interested being be at least attentive to his own benefits and pleasures. Let him carefully remove from about the habitations of his bees every fetid or poisonous vegetable, however comely its colour or its form. In particular, let him be careful to remove those vegetables which are noxious to himself. In place of these, let him spread the 'marjoram, and thyme,' and other plants, 'the love of bees,' and his labours will be rewarded. He may, then, furnish his table with a honey not inferior to that of Mount Hermettus, or Athens; nor to that of Sicily, to which Virgil has so *handsomely* alluded in the seventh Eclogue:

Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblæ,
Candidior cygnis, hederâ formosior albâ.

L. 37, 38. p. 69, 70.

Meanly as our readers may be disposed to think of the American scientific circles, they appear to be highly prized by their own members. The Society, whose labours we have been describing, attaches to itself the name of 'Philosophical,' with peculiar eagerness; and the meeting house, where the transactions of its members are scraped together, and prepared for being inaccurately printed, is, in the genuine dialect of tradesmen, denominated '*Philosophical Hall.*'

We have dwelt longer upon this article than its merits justify; not so much for the sake of the work, as for the purpose of stating

and exemplifying a most curious and unaccountable fact—the scarcity of all but mercantile and agricultural talents in the New World.

ART. VII. *A Vindication of the Celts, from Ancient Authorities; with Observations on Mr. Pinkerton's Hypothesis, concerning the Origin of the European Nations, in his Modern Geography and Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths,* 8vo. pp. 172. London. Williams, Strand; Longman & Rees.

ANTIQUARIAN researches are generally excessively insignificant, and form one of the most fatiguing and least amiable species of trifling with which we are acquainted. Academies, composed of grave and accomplished persons, are occupied in decyphering an useless inscription, or endeavouring to distinguish between a fabulous tyrant and his grandfather; while individual sages are quarrelling about the denomination of a defaced coin, or settling whether a rusty *fibula* has belonged to a horseman or a foot soldier. If there is any branch, however, of their study, that has pretensions to interest and dignity, it is certainly that which relates to the origin and destinies of nations, the filiation of distant races, and the affinities of remote establishments. —Upon the confines, where history terminates, and theory begins, the antiquary takes his station; and, combining the indications of language, manners, and appearance, with local traditions, and the scattered and incidental notices that occur in the earlier historians, he fabricates his hazardous system with more or less of solidity or beauty. The very magnitude of these questions gives them a degree of interest; and we listen very patiently to dissertations on the connexion of the Egyptians and Hindus, or to the Celtic or Gothic genealogy of the European nations. The latter controversy, however, attracts the greatest share of attention in this quarter of the world; and as it seems to be more capable than any other of being reduced to a few distinct points, we have taken the opportunity of this little publication, to lay a statement of it before our readers.

All antiquaries, we believe, are agreed, that the Celts formed part of the original inhabitants of Europe; but they differ respecting the districts which are now occupied by their descendants. Mr. Pinkerton, in his 'dissertation on the Scythians and Goths,' first advanced the opinion, that these nations were identical, and that, 500 A. C. they drove and confined the conquered and half exterminated Celts to the western extremity of Gaul; where, in the mountains of Wales and Scotland, and

in some districts of Ireland, the small remains of their posterity are still to be found. His opponents, who were more remarkable for the ardour of their zeal, and the unwarranted boldness of their assertions, than for their acuteness and learning, were dismayed by the laborious erudition and confident originality of this performance; while the impartial were, for the most part, too indifferent to verify their contradictory allegations.

The author now before us, in whose mind the detection of a few instances of authorities unfairly translated, had produced a general suspicion of Mr Pinkerton's fidelity, has undertaken, in the present work, to examine the foundation of his hypothesis, and to point out its weakness and insufficiency. He also adopts and supports the opinion, that the present inhabitants of many countries of Europe and particularly of England, are of Celtic descent.

From what has been already said, it is evident, that till the weight and authenticity of the disputed authorities can be accurately adjusted, the early history of Europe must remain in the utmost obscurity. If the Goths and Celts, indeed, had differed only in the nature or degree of their savageness, the inquiry would be neither curious nor important. But, according to the testimony of all ancient historians, their persons, customs, religion, and language, differed in a striking and uncommon degree. Hence, the inquiry derives additional interest, and becomes intimately connected with the researches and speculations of the philosopher. It promises, in a particular manner, to dispel that obscurity in which the history and philosophy of language have long been involved. The author of the 'Diversions of Purley' has set an example of the ease and success with which the investigation of words in their rude and original form may remove those difficulties, which metaphysical reasons had at once attempted to explain, and tended to increase.

In forming our opinion as to the merits of this controversy, we have not confined our remarks to those authorities only which are cited by our author and by Mr. Pinkerton; but have carefully consulted every ancient author who was likely to elucidate the subject in dispute; and flatter ourselves, that we have been enabled to produce several passages, hitherto unnoticed, even in the authors most generally quoted, which establish some important points, and remove some perplexing difficulties. Before we affixed an exact meaning to any passage, or set it down as an admissible authority, we endeavoured, by the comparison of different parts of the same author, to ascertain the sense in which he used words of the highest importance, and the general nature of his phraseology. In this way, we presume to hope, that the following observations will be

found to contain, not merely an impartial account of the publication before us, but a succinct and accurate detail of all that is really known upon the subject. If our readers should be of the same opinion, we are persuaded that they will easily forgive our prolixity.

As Mr. Pinkerton had affirmed, that 500 A C the Celts were confined, by the conquest and pressure of the Scythians or Goths, to the western extremity of Gaul, it was necessary for him to ascertain the original habitation of the Scythians, and to prove that, at a very early period, their power and resources were equal to such an expedition. In support of this proposition, he refers to the authority of Justin, who says that the Scythians conquered Asia in the time of Vexoris; and that Ninus, fifteen hundred years afterwards, freed it from their tribute [1]. Now, though little dependence can be placed on the authority of Justin, respecting an event so remote and obscure, the author before us certainly betrays great ignorance, inattention, or want of fidelity, when he would substitute *fifteen* years as the genuine reading. If this had been the fact, Justin would not have used the following expression—'Vexoris lived in times more remote than Ninus;' these words immediately precede the passage which our author translates, but these words he has omitted.

Mr. Pinkerton next cites Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, to prove that the Scythians left their original settlement near the Araxes, and fixed themselves on the shores of the Euxine, about 2160 A. C.; he maintains, that this first passage of the Araxes has been uniformly confounded with another, or second, which they effected, 640 A. C.: but our author, by the production of Mr. Pinkerton's own authorities, renders it evident, that they expressly refer to the latter event only; and thence concludes, 'that, as the Scythians, an inconsiderable tribe of wandering shepherds, crossed the Araxes, having left their original habitations, and are first mentioned in history only 640 A. C. the assertion of Mr. Pinkerton, that they had extended their conquests to the western parts of Gaul, 500 A. C., is glaringly false, and ridiculously absurd [2].' If it necessarily followed, from Mr. Pinkerton's inaccuracy in this particular, that the Scythians certainly were not sufficiently powerful or numerous to accomplish the subjugation of Gaul, 500 A. C. our author's victory would have been complete, and his

[1] Justin, lib. i. 1. c. 1.; lib. ii. c. 3.

[2] In ascertaining the chronology of Herodotus, relative to the passage of the Araxes, our author allots to Sardyattes a reign of only six years; Herodotus expressly says he reigned twelve. Herod. Clio, p. 7. edit. Steph. 1592.

triumph allowable. To convict Mr. Pinkerton, however, of a single error, is not to overturn his hypothesis: and if our author had directed his researches rather towards the discovery of truth, than the detection of Mr. Pinkerton's blunders, he would have found the clear and express testimony of Herodotus and Diod. Siculus, in proof of the very early movements, and extensive conquests of the Scythians.

We shall lay these passages, unaccountably overlooked by Mr. Pinkerton, before our readers. 'The Scythians, few and despised, dwelt at first near the Araxes; and afterwards, increasing in numbers, conquered many countries beyond the Tanais, even as far as Thrace [3].' It is impossible to conjecture the date of these conquests; they must, however, have been effected at a very remote period, since, according to the same author and Herodotus, Sesostris found and attacked them in their settlements beyond the Tanais, and on the borders of Thrace [4]. Sesostris lived at so very early a period, that every attempt to ascertain his æra, would be fruitless. We have endeavoured, by the careful perusal of Herodotus, where he relates the names and successive order of the Egyptian kings, and sometimes particularizes the events and duration of their reigns, to approximate, by two modes of computation, to the æra of Sesostris; and we think ourselves justified in placing him at least 1400 A. C.: and if we reflect that the Scythians, according to the character which is given, and the actions recorded of them by all ancient historians, were restless and ambitious, inspiring terror into the neighbouring nations by their fierceness, and reducing them to subjection or flight by their successful invasions, and that their movements were almost uniformly from Asia to the west, we shall consider the opinion, independently of its direct evidence, that, 500, A. C., they had advanced to the western extremity of Gaul, as by no means absurd or improbable.

Both Mr. Pinkerton and his opponent, however, have totally misunderstood Herodotus respecting the Scythian invasion, 640 A. C. This author is very particular and minute in his description of it, from which it appears, that upon that occasion they went *from Europe into Asia*, in pursuit of the Cimmerians; entered by a long circuitous route near the foot of Mount Caucasus, into Media, which they conquered; and having received some provocation from Psammeticus, King of Egypt, directed their march towards that country, when they were induced, by the presents he sent them, to terminate this expedition in Syria [5]. This account entirely con-

[3] Diod. Siculus, lib. ii. p. 89. edit. Steph.
[4] Diod. Siculus, lib. i. p. 35. Herod. Euterpe, p. 142—148.
[5] Herod. Clio, p. 49.

tradicts our author's opinion, that the Scythians passed the Araxes, for the first time, 640 A. C. in their progress towards the west, and were then only a tribe of wandering shepherds.

We are convinced, with our author, that the Sarmatæ were descended from the Scythians, and wonder at the negligence or effrontery of Mr. Pinkerton, when he maintains that Herodotus carefully distinguishes between them: the words of Herodotus are, 'The Sarmatæ are the offspring of the Amazons and the Scythians[6].' Mr. Pinkerton next endeavours to prove, that *Getæ* and *Gothi* were names applied to the same people, in order that he may form a link to connect the Scythians and Goths. Although our author points out the futility of some of his arguments, and justly objects to the validity of some of his authorities, we are inclined to think that Mr. Pinkerton has produced evidence sufficiently strong to justify his assertion. Here our author again discovers his negligence; and, with many, will create a suspicion of his fidelity. He says, (p. 31.) 'We have in vain consulted Strabo and Pliny, to prove that the Getæ and Scythians were the same people.' Now Strabo, in the context of that passage which our author afterwards quotes, evidently considers the Getæ as a Scythian tribe[7]; and Pliny says, 'From the Borysthenes, over the whole adjoining country, *all are Scythian* nations, different tribes of whom dwell near its banks: in one part the Getæ, whom the Romans call Daci,' &c.[8]. Our author can find no mention of Tanus, king of the Getæ, in the 5th Book of Valer. Flaccus, to which Mr. Pinkerton refers, to prove the identity of the Getæ and Scythians, as Justin calls him king of the latter. We have also searched the text of this author in vain; but imagine we have discovered, in the various readings given by N. Heinsius in his note on the following lines, the rough materials of which Mr. Pinkerton has fabricated his authority.

Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis hinc Tibarenum
Dant virides post terga lacus.

Hinc Tibarenum.) HINC TYMAMUS, Carrionis liber, unde ille;

[6] Herod. Melpomene, p. 294.

[7] On account of the length of this passage, we can only refer to it; Strabo, lib. 7. p. 295. edit. Casauboni. Zamolzis is mentioned by Herodotus, Melp. p. 289; and by Strabo, in the passage cited, as worshipped by the Getæ: and the authors of the *Etymol. Mag.* and Suidas (in voc. *Zamolxis*) understand the Getæ of Herodotus, whom they quote, to be Scythians.

[8] Plini Hist. Nat. lib. ib. c. 12. p. 72. edit. Dalecamp.

INDE TYMAVOS; nullo autore: et tamen sic exprimendum curavit. PRO INDE GENETÆI, ut optimè Politianus, in primo Vaticano legitur, INDIGENA ETÆ [9].' The word Timavos, the absurd conjecture of Carrio, presented some resemblance to the name in Justin; but we know not from what words Mr. Pinkerton formed Getæ, or Rex Getarum: Genetæi, or Indigena, etæ, indeed contain the letters of the former, and these seem to have been sufficient for Mr Pinkerton. It is fortunate for him that he is not in Germany or Scandinavia, 'where, if an author were to quote falsely, he would go near to endure the character of a scoundrel and a liar [1].' His love of truth, and soundness of judgment, must have totally deserted him, when he could not resist so weak a temptation to commit a literary crime, in itself so unnecessary, and easy of detection; and which, according to his own judgement, ought to brand him with infamy [2].

The Vindicator next undertakes to show, 'that the very authorities Mr. Pinkerton has adduced, to prove that the Celts were confined to the farthest west of Gaul, 500 A. C., are directly contrary to his hypothesis,' (p. 41.) Herodotus is first examined; and our author convicts Mr. Pinkerton of misunderstanding one passage, and translating another from the Latin version, as more suitable to his purpose than the Greek original, (p. 44.) But, if the testimony of Herodotus be compared with that of other authors, it is, in our opinion, clearly and strongly in favour of Mr. Pinkerton, who, in this instance also, has injured his own cause by his inattention, rashness, or unfairness. The most important passage is the following: 'The Istor takes its rise among the Celts, and near the city Pyrene [3].' Herodotus does not say 'the Pyrenæan mountains,' as Mr. Pinkerton alleges: but the following passage renders it highly probable that Herodotus meant a city in their neighbourhood, 'And from Pyrene (this is a mountain towards the west, in the country of the Celts) flow the Ister and Tartessus: the latter empties itself into the ocean beyond the pillars of Herculus [4].' If this passage of Aristotle be compared with Herodotus's

[9] Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. lib. v. l. 148. edit. Heins. It may be proper to mention, that this is the edition specified by Mr. Pinkerton in the list of editions used by him, prefixed to this Dissertation.

[1] Pinkerton's Dissert. Pref. p. 14.

[2] 'No literary crime is equal to false quotation; for public faith attends an author, and public infamy ought always to attend his abuse of it.' Preface to Dissertation, p. 14.

[3] Herod. Euterp. p. 114.

[4] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. p. 545. edit. Duval.

account of the Tartessus,[5] it will be evident he meant a city near the Pyrenæan mountains.

There are, in different parts of Athenæus, some curious particulars relative to the customs of the Celts, which are not to be found in any other writer. He derives his descriptions principally from Possidonius, who (he says) was a Stoic philosopher, and exemplified in his history the fidelity and accuracy for which his sect were distinguished. From the account of this author, who lived at least a century before the Christian æra,[6] it appears that the Celts then inhabited that part of Gaul which lies to the west of Marseilles. It is surprising that Mr. Pinkerton should have overlooked this authority; but, by a strange perversion of intellect, and misapplication of labour, he has preferred authorities which are weak, and passages which are forged, to those which are strong and genuine.

The Vindicator has forgotten to examine three of the four passages which Mr. Pinkerton has quoted from Aristotle; and has examined a passage little to the purpose, and not cited by his antagonist. It is rather unfortunate for our author, that the passages which he has *not* noticed, though they are not decisive, are much more in favour of Mr. Pinkerton than the one which he has noticed. 'In this sea are two very large islands, called the British, Albion and Ierne, greater than those we have already mentioned, lying beyond the Celts.[7] 'It is said that there is a path, called the path of Hercules, from Italy, as far as the Celtic country, and the Iberians.'[8] Our author's assertion, that Aristotle meant a district near Colchis in Asia, called Iberia, is entirely unwarranted, and highly improbable. We have already examined what Aristotle says in his treatise *de Meteorol.* We can find no passage in Apollonius Rhodius, which even mentions the country of the Celts: our author particularises neither page nor book. Strabo proves only, that some Celtic tribes lived near the Adriatic in the time of Alexander:[9] and Arrian says, the Ister takes its rise among the Celts:[1] whence it is probable that he had

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[5] Herod. Clio, p. 74. See also Strabo, lib. 3. p. 148. and Dionys. Perierg. v. 288.

[6] Casaubon proves that Possidonius lived before the destruction of the Roman republic, and renders it very probable that he is the same person who wrote a continuation of the History of Polybius. Athenæus, lib. 4. 151 and 152.; et Casaub. in loc.

[7] Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3. p. 604.

[8] Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. p. 1157.

[9] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 301.

[1] Arriani Exped. Alex. lib. i. p. 8. edit. Gronov.

the same mistaken opinion respecting the source of this river, which Herodotus and Aristotle had; and that the Celts, whom he here mentions, lived near the Pyrenees. Mr. Pinkerton admits, that small tribes of the Celts existed in different parts of Europe at this period: his grand position is, that the Goths had swept the main body of them as far as Gaul.

We did not expect, after the humorous and severe, but just and critical, remarks of the author of 'Hermes Unmask'd,'[2] that Dr. Vincent's hypothesis respecting the Greek verb, would have been brought forward as satisfactory and well founded. Our author, however, not only considers it as decisively proved, but is inclined to believe in the identity of the Greek and Welsh languages, because the tenses of the verbs in each, are formed from the auxiliaries ειμι, and Au, *to go*. We shall afterwards examine 'the few instances of twenty thousand Welsh words similar to the Greek, given in the Appendix,' (p. 57.) He challenges Mr. Pinkerton to adduce as many Gothic words similar to the Greek: this challenge discovers him to be ignorant that the only Gothic book extant, is a version of the Gospels, very imperfect.

In opposition to Mr. Pinkerton's assertion, that war-chariots were not known among the Celts, he says, 'They were so common among the Celts in Gaul, that Pompon. Mela (art. *Britt.*) distinguishes those in use among the Britons, by the name of Covini *Gallice*, armati.' We shall not at present inquire into the meaning affixed by the Latin authors to the words *Gallia*, *Galli*, &c.; it is unnecessary. The passage in Pomponius Mela *is not* as he cites it: In justification of this charge, we shall quote it. 'Dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus, *Gallice armati*. Covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur.'[3] It is evident that the *men*, and not the chariots, are here said to be equipped like the Gauls. Livy mentions, indeed, that the Gauls with whom the Romans fought, A. U. 457, A. C. 295, used war-chariots;[4] but nothing decisive can be inferred from this passage, until it be determined whether these Gauls were Celtic or Belgic. Our author refers to no authority for his assertion that the Silures employed these chariots in their battle under Caractacus against the Romans. Tacitus, who describes it very minutely, is silent respecting them; whereas, he particu-

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[2] Hermes Unmask'd, Letter the 2d.

[3] Pompon. Mela. lib. 3. c. 9. p. 41. edit. Steph. published by this editor in the same volume with Dionys. Perierg. Solinus, &c.

[4] Livy, lib. x. c. 28. edit. Clerici.

larly mentions the *Covinarii* in his account of the battle between Agricola and the Caledonians, a German or Gothic tribe[5].

We agree with our author, that Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, cited by Mr. Pinkerton, to establish the identity of the Scythic and Greek languages, are so vague and general in their expressions, that a casual and partial similarity alone can be inferred. 'Mr. Pinkerton either did not read, or misunderstood Xenophon,' (p. 61, 62.) Our auther should have been more scrupulous and diligent, before he brought forward this charge in so positive a manner; at least, he ought to have guarded himself against a similar imputation. Mr. Pinkerton quotes two passages from Xenophon, in reality distinct; but which, from his mode of quotation, and the want of express reference, appear to be one. Our author examined Xenophon; found the first passage which did not contain the whole of Mr. Pinkerton's assertion; and is so eager to proclaim his victory, and so careless about truth, provided he defeat his antagonist, that he overlooks entirely the other passage, though it follows the former, with the intervention of a few lines. In this, Xenophon certainly says '*Kindred* was given as the military watch-word by the united armies of the Greeks and Thracians, as implying their common origins[6].'

The Vindicator convicts his opponent of a strange blunder; or, more probably, a shameful and gross misrepresentation, in his quotation from Ovid. Mr. Pinkerton, who seems to have read ancient authors with a determination to fabricate authorities, where they did not present themselves, and to be very indifferent about the nature of the materials he employs, found, in the 10th Elegy of the 5th Book of Ovid, a line which, by a junction with another in the 2d Elegy of the same book, formed a couplet, unintelligible indeed, but which, to an inattentive reader, seems to imply that the Greek and Getic languages are nearly allied[7].

Our author next undertakes to prove that the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, and Italians, were not Scytho-Goths. It is unnecessary, however, to examine this position, since he rather infers the truth of it from his supposed confutation of Mr. Pinkerton's hypotheses, respecting the very early progress of the Scythians into Europe, than supports it by any express or appropriate au-

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[5] Taciti Anal. lib. xii. c. 35. Taciti vita Agric. c. 36.

[6] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. lib. lvii. p. 237. 238. edit. Steph. 1581.

[7] Exercent illi SOCIAE commercia linguæ
Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela sono est.
Trist. v. 10.—Dissert. p. 75.

rities. In our opinion, there is no part of Mr. Pinkerton's Dissertation more weak and unsatisfactory, than that which contains his arguments for the Scythic origin of the Greeks and Italians. His quotations, indeed, are numerous, but they are vague and contradictory; and his attempts to illustrate or fix their meaning, and to reconcile their disagreement, are in general ineffectual. It is well known that the Greeks and Romans regarded all other nations as barbarians; and their historians, are, therefore anxious to prove, either that they were aboriginals of the soil, or that they were descended from nations distinguished for their very early civilization and knowledge. This partiality in their historians, renders their testimony on these points liable to suspicion, as well as obscure and contradictory. And the argument derived from the similarity of their manners, customs, &c. cannot be applied, where there was so great a difference in the circumstances of the Scythians and Greeks.

We begin, now to approach points of history, comparatively luminous and distinct; and Mr. Pinkerton's positions are more generally interesting and important. It is also evident, that his authorities, and arguments in defence of them, are too powerful for his antagonist, although his zeal and diligence increase in proportion as the Inquiry respects more directly and essentially the Celtic population of England.

Mr. Pinkerton's first position is, that the Germans are Scytho-Goths. His first argument is drawn from language; and if his illustrations and proofs be carefully examined[8], they will be found much more clear and strong than our author is willing to admit. The resemblance between the very few remaining Scythic words and the Gothic, is close and striking[9]; and no one will deny that the German is a dialect of the latter[1]. We have already examined all the nine authorities quoted by Mr. Pinkerton, except that of Pliny. The meaning which ought to be affixed to his words is rendered clear, by comparing them with the passages already quoted, from Herodotus, Aristotle, &c. respecting the principal settlement of the Celts; and is decidedly in favour of Mr. Pinkerton.

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[8] Dissertation, p. 107—114.

[9] Ihre, Lex. Suio-Goth. in Præfat.

[1] The opinion of Hickes and Larozius, that the version of the Gospels, ascribed to Ulphilas, is in the Tudesque, and not the Gothic, is completely refuted by Benzelius, in his preface to Lye Evangel. Goth. and by an inscription found and published in Italy, 1731; the letters and words of which are perfectly similar to those in Ulphilas' Gospels Lye, Evan. Goth. Præf. p. 7—14.; p. 35.

It certainly does not by any means follow, of necessity, that because the Celts inhabited only about one third of Gaul in the time of Cæsar, therefore the Goths had penetrated into that country 500 A. C. But as the original inhabitants were driven to the very shores of the ocean in the time of Cæsar, their invaders must have entered the eastern part at a period long anterior. Our author has rather weakened than supported his interpretation of the words, 'Plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis,' by quoting the entire passage in which they occur (Vind. p. 83—86) It is absurd in him to draw any inference respecting the Belgæ, from the silence of authors prior to Cæsar; as he was the first who, from his opportunities of observation, was enabled to give an accurate description of Gaul. Our author asserts, that Mr. Pinkerton has quoted Strabo in a garbled and imperfect manner: in order to prove this assertion, and, at the same time, to shew that Strabo is in favour of his opinion, he lays before his readers what he calls a translation of the genuine and entire passage. But he has translated the words of the Latin interpreter, not those of Strabo; and he has misunderstood even the former. [1] *Ακουίτανους μεν ουν και Κελτας καλειν, τους προς τη Πυρηνη, διωρισμενους τω Κιμμερικω ορει.* Ergo qui Pyrenæ sunt proximi, eos Aquitanos et Celtas vocant, monte divisi Cimmeno'.'—'Insomuch that those who live near the Pyrenees denominate them only Aquitani and Celtæ, they being divided by the Cimmen mountain.' (Vind. p. 88).

A comparison of the different parts of Cæsar, in which the words *Gallia* and *Galli* occur, and in which he describes the different inhabitants, is sufficient to establish the common opinion, that he referred exclusively to Celtic Gaul, when he is mentioning the Druids, although his words are, 'In omni Gallia.' Even if we grant that they are to be taken strictly and literally, it by no means follows that the Belgæ were Celts, because they practised Druidism. Their intermixture will sufficiently account for the adoption of religious rites, and renders unnecessary the supposition of their identity, which is expressly contradicted by Cæsar himself.

Our author here, and in subsequent parts of his work, maintains that the Greek historians use the terms, Γαλαται, Κελται, as synonymous; and that they always refer exclusively to the Celtic division of Gaul, and its inhabitants, by the words Κελτικη and Κελται. As it is of the highest importance to determine this point, which appears not to have been carefully examined even by Mr. Pinkerton, who seems frequently reduced to perplexity or subter-

[1] Strabo, lib. ii. p. 176.

fuge, by his suspicion of its truth, we shall lay before our readers the result of an impartial and strict inquiry. The Greek authors appear to use Κελτικη and Γαλατια, and the corresponding names of the inhabitants, as strictly synonymous; they apply them sometimes to Gaul in general; at other times the context proves, that they are used in their original sense. But Belgic Gaul and its inhabitants are most frequently denoted by the words, Κελτικη and Κελται. The Belgæ appear to have attracted most of the attention of these historians; and their description of them is so uniform and accurate, that no doubt can be entertained that they mean the Belgic Gauls, although they call them Κελται. Strabo, speaking of the inhabitants of Britain, says, 'The men are taller than the Gauls (των Κελτων), and their hair less yellow[1].' In his description of Germany, 'Immediately beyond the Rhine, to the east of the Gelts, the Germans live, differing little from the Celtic race (του Κελτικου), in their savageness, tallness, and yellowness of hair; and with respect to features, customs, and modes of life, very like the Gauls (τους Κελτους), whom we have already described: wherefore it is our opinion that the Romans have given them very properly the name *Germani*, implying the common origin of the Gauls (Γαλατας) and them[2].' The faithfulness and exact information of this author are well known: we may, therefore, consider his description of the Gauls as accurate: but it will apply only to the German or Belgic Gauls. Yellow or red hair distinguished a German tribe. There was no resemblance between the Celts and Germans. Diodorus Siculus gives a very particular description of Gaul (Γαλατια, Κελτικη); and it is evident, that these terms are frequently employed, when he is speaking of that part which Cæsar, from whom he has taken his description, says was inhabited by the Belgæ. He also expressly says—'The Gauls (Γαλατοι) are tall, fair skinned, and naturally yellow haired[3].' Polybius, our author asserts, describes the Gauls, who pillaged Rome under Brennus, as Celts: he certainly calls them Celts (Γαλατοι, Κελτοι) but his enumeration and description of their different tribes puts it beyond a doubt that they were German Gauls. He particularly names and describes the Veneti, Semnones, and Boii[4]. We have the express testimony of Strabo, that the first were German Gauls[5]; and the others

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[1] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 194. 200.
[2] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 290.
[3] Diod. Siculus, lib. v. p. 212.
[4] Polyb. lib. ii. p. 42. Edit Bas. 1549.
[5] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 194.

are enumerated by Tacitus among the tribes of Germany[1]. It may be objected that Polybius mentions these Gauls as coming from a country very remote from any assigned to them by Tacitus and Strabo. But, in the time of the first historian, the Romans were entirely ignorant of Germany, and knew very little even of Transalpine Gaul, and therefore could not mention the name or situation of the country whence the invaders originally came. Polybius says, they proceeded into Italy from the adjoining territory on the north: this would be directly on their rout from Germany: and as they had most probably occupied it for some time, Polybius, both from this circumstance and his want of information, would consider it as their original or permanent residence. Longolius, in his edition of *Taciti Germania*, shows that the appellations, Semnones and Boii, are evidently derived from the Gothic, and particularly applicable to the situation and manners of those tribes[2]. Pausanias calls both the Celtic and Belgic inhabitants of Gaul, Γαλάται and Κελται; but as his authority is less important, and his descriptions not so full and definite, we shall only refer to him[3].

It is still more evident that the terms *Gallia* and *Galli* are frequently employed by the Latin authors, when their observations and descriptions are applicable only to Belgic Gaul and its inhabitants. We need not illustrate this point by the examination of any particular passages, as it is generally admitted, and easily proved.

Our author and Mr. Pinkerton agree in the opinion that the Cimbri, who, in junction with the Teutones, invaded Italy, and were defeated by Marius, were a Celtic tribe, and the same as those who had, some centuries before, sacked Rome. But the country whence they proceeded, their close alliance with a Gothic tribe, and the description given of them by the Greek and Latin historians, who appear to have considered them of the same race with the Teutones, clearly prove them to have been of German origin[4]. To these considerations it may be added, that the name of their leader Boiiorix is evidently of Gothic structure; and that Tacitus, who, in his description of Germany, particularly and expressly marks the few tribes who appeared not to be Germans, is entirely silent respecting the Celtic origin of the

[1] Tacit. Germ. c. 38. 39.

[2] Tacit. Germ. Edit. Longol. c. 38. 39.

[3] Pausanias, lib. i. p. 16. 62. 66; lib. x. p. 644. &c. Edit. Sylbur. Hanov. 1613.

[4] Plut. in Mario. Livy, Epit. l. 68. Percy's Preface to Mallet's North. Antiq. p. 38. Mallet, Vol. I. p. 32.

Cimbri, and in his account points out no difference between them and the other inhabitants[1].

Mr. Pinkerton, as our author observes, has added the word *furthest* to Strabo's account of the most ancient division of the globe. In book 1st. he says, 'The earth is divided into four parts: to the furthest east, the Indians; to the furthest south, the Æthiops; to the furthest West, the Celts; and to the furthest north, the Scythians[2].' We know not why Mr. Pinkerton quoted this passage; and still less why he interpolated it. As it is found in Strabo, it proves merely that the Celts inhabited the west of the globe, which is admitted upon all hands. If Mr. Pinkerton had added the word *furthest* only to the division inhabited by the Celts, it might have served his purpose; but, by applying it to all the divisions, he can derive no advantage from it. It is surprising that our author, who has detected a false reading in Mr. Pinkerton's quotation from Pomponius Mela, (*Belcarum*, instead of *Belgarum*), shold have overlooked a *forged* passage, for which Mr. Pinkerton refers to the same author, especially as it is necessary to make the substituted word of any use to him. He says, Pomponius calls the northern Scythæ, Belcæ; and refers to lib. iii. c. 5[3]. No such passage occurs in Stephen's edition. Our author betrays gross ignorance of the Latin idiom in the following remarks:—'Mr. Pinkerton introduces the authority of Pliny, to prove that Germany was included in Scythia: 'Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui, extremi Gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt.' Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12. 'The name of Scythians is every where changed to that of Sarmatæ and Germans: nor has that ancient appellation continued, save to the most distant of these TWO nations, who live almost unknown to other mortals.' (Dissert. p. 127, 128.) 'It is a most singular circumstance, and proves how far zeal in support of a favourite hypothesis will blind even a man like Mr. Pinkerton, of extensive learning, and profound research. He has inadvertently introduced this very passage of Pliny which strongly militates against his system, in support of it; but has misinterpreted the last part of the sentence: and by introducing

[1] Tacit. Germ. 37. A professed Antiquarian, in 'Some remarks on the early population of Europe' (Exeter Essays, p. 84.) endeavours to prove, that a few Celtæ, whom he imagines to be descendants of the Cimbri, still exist in Italy; because the King of Denmark, about 70 years since, conversed easily with them in the Danish language!

[2] Dissert. p. 126.

[3] Dissert. p. 127.

the word TWO, which is not in the original, applies the remark of Pliny to the Sarmatæ and Germans only, which was applied neither to the Sarmatæ nor Germans; but to those nations who were unknown to the rest of the world.' (Vind. 99, 100). Mr. Pinkerton certainly was not justified in inserting the word TWO, as Pliny, by the word *harum*, confines his remark to the latter, the Germans: but the word *harum* determines, that the nation unknown to the rest of the world, and which still retained the ancient appellation, *Scythian*, was part of one already mentioned.

'Herodotus places most of his Scythians in Germany.' (Dissert. 173). 'This is not true; for he places some of his Scythæ on the northern Shores of the Euxine, and near the mouths of the Ister: and the others beyond the Tanais, and the shores of the Caspian.' (Vind. p. 131). Herodotus places some Scythian nations far to the north; most probably, from his description, rather to the east of Germany[1]. 'The Ister, or Danube, he calls the largest river in Scythia.' (Dissert. ibid.) 'Not so: he says, it is the largest known river in Europe.' (Vind. ibid). The words of Herodotus are: 'The Ister, being the largest of all the rivers with which we are acquainted[2].' A circumstance that Herodotus mentions, shows that Scythia was to the east of Germany: for he says, 'The Ister, turning obliquely, enters Scythia; this oblique turn is at no great distance from its mouth.' (Vind. ibid). Herodotus, enumerating the rivers which flow into the Ister, says, 'There are five which take their rise in Scythia; the one furthest to the west is the Ordissus[3].' By examining the map, we shall find that this river enters the Ister in long. 20. E. or near the middle of Hungary. The Porate, mentioned by Herodotus as another river rising in Scythia, has its source in nearly the same long. and in lat. 49. N. among the Riphæan mountains[4]. There is no oblique turn in the Ister, at the influx of the Ordissus, nor between that river and the one nearest to it on the west, within which space the Ister must have entered Scythia. But Herodotus makes no mention of an oblique turn; his Latin interpreter does. The words of the former are: 'The Ister, running across Europe, enters the side of Scythia[5].' Our author's assertions are here brought forward in the

[1] Herod Melp. 262—264.
[2] Id. ibid. 272.
[3] Id. ibid.
[4] Id. ibid.
[5] Ες τα πλαγια της Σκυθης εσβαλλει. Melp. 273.
Ex transverso ingreditur Scythiam. *Lat. Version*

most positive and dogmatical manner: while it is evident that he has not only failed in his attempts to support them, but exposed his own ignorance, and weakened his cause.

The next point of inquiry which presents itself is, whether the population of England, as it is described by Cæsar and Tacitus, were Belgic. All our author's objections and arguments depend entirely on the question, Whether the terms *Gallia* and *Galli* were applied by the Latin historians to Celtic Gaul and its inhabitants exclusively? As they were not, he has failed to prove, from them, the Celtic population of this island: and as, from our former investigations, it appeared that the Belgic Gauls were most frequently meant by the words Κελται, and by the corresponding Latin term *Galli*, it is reasonable to infer, from their testimony, that the population was Belgic. The truth of this inference is strongly confirmed by a comparison of the manners of the Belgæ and the inhabitants[6]; and is by no means weakened by the existence of Druidism, even if we suppose it not to have been confined to a few places inhabited by the Celts. The testimony of Nennius, cited by our author (Vind. 157) contradicts Mr. Pinkerton's position, that the language of England was the same with that spoken by the Saxons at the time of their invasion. The necessity for an interpreter between Vortigern and Hengist proves their difference; but not that Celtic was spoken by the former. The languages of Belgia, and of that part of Germany whence the Saxons came, differed then, most probably, at least as much as they do now; and the original tongue of the Belgæ, who had crossed into England, would, in the time of Vortigern, be much corrupted, even if they were not intermixed with the Celts. As the determination of the inquiry respecting the language spoken in England at the Saxon invasion will decide the origin of the population which then existed, and as it has not been attempted, we believe, by any writer on this subject, we shall venture to state a few of the facts and arguments which have led us to conclude that it was Belgic.

An examination of the words, phrases, and structure of the Anglo-Saxon, which was commonly used in England from the eighth to the twelfth century, will convince us that it is a mixed language. If it were the language introduced by the invaders, it must have been either the Tudesque or Icelandic, which alone were spoken in that part of Germany from which they came. We have works in the Tudesque of the eighth century, and an Icelandic history of the eleventh. If Anglo-Saxon writings of

[6] Cæsar, lib. v. Tacit. Vit. Agric. Diod. Sic. lib. v. 209.

the same dates be compared with them[7], it will be found that the grammatical form and structure bear a near resemblance, but that the greater number of Anglo-Saxon words differ from those of a corresponding meaning in the Icelandic and Tudesque. This will be satisfactorily explained by the well attested facts, that the Saxons who invaded England were very few compared with the conquered inhabitants, and that these were very generally employed as domestic slaves. We may therefore conclude, that the Anglo Saxon is composed of the language spoken by the invaders, and that which the inhabitants retained; and that most of its words and phrases were borrowed from the latter. As it is clearly evident that this cannot be the Celtic, there is no other to which we can direct our examination, with more probability of success, than the Belgic. We have indeed no specimens of the ancient Belgic; but both the English and the Anglo-Saxon present a very striking and general resemblance to the language now spoken in the Netherlands. Kilianus published, in the 16th century, *Etymologican Teutonicæ Linguæ;* which contains not only the common Low-Dutch words then in use, but all the words peculiar to Friesland, Gueldres, Juliers, Brabant, and the borders of Westphalia. Among these provincialisms will be found a great number not in the present German, the Tudesque and Icelandic, which are very similar to the Anglo Saxon. It is well known, that the dialects of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the oldest English authors, contain many Anglo-Saxon words, which are now disused. There are even, in the former, some words, which cannot be traced to the Anglo-Saxon, but which are common to the Flemish. A comparison of the Flemish with the Anglo-Saxon version of the New Testament, and of the latter with the Icelandic, and the Paraphrases of Otofred and Tatian, preserved in Schilter, written in the Francic or Tudesque, about the ninth century, will prove that there is a greater number of words in the Anglo Saxon liker the Flemish than the Icelandic and Tudesque. It may also be remarked, that many words in the Anglo Saxon, which cannot be referred to those languages, exist in the Gothic, from which they could have been transferred only through the medium of the Belgic, although they are not now to be found in the present dialect of that tongue. If authority were needful, where the reader can examine and judge for himself, we

[7] Alfred's translation of Bede and Orosius, written in the eighth century, may be compared with the Tudesque of the same date collected by Schilter, *Thesaur. Eccles. Ant. Teuton.* The Saxon chronicle written during the tenth and eleventh centuries, may be compared with *Arii Frode Schedæ*, in Icelandic, written in the eleventh century, and first published, 4to Hafniæ, 1733.

would produce that of Kilianus, an impartial and competent judge, who, in the Preface to his *Etymol. Teut. Ling.* says—'Vocabula quamplurima contuli cum veteribus Anglicis, sive Saxonibus, quæ cum Germanicis inferioribus, sive Teutonicis, licet dialectis nonnihil mutatis, prorsus eadem sunt[8]; and that of Verstigan, who affirms, that the English is more nearly allied to the Dutch than to the German[9].

It may be necessary to examine the argument of Mr. Owen, quoted by our author, in favour of the opinion, that the English language is of Celtic origin. (Vind. 157.) 'With respect to the English words derived from the Welsh, under the letter B, for instance, I have rejected all the words obviously borrowed from known languages. The result has left between fifteen hundred and sixteen hundred English words, about nine hundred of which are supposed to be Saxon; and the rest stand in the dictionaries as generally unaccounted for: but of these I shall prove about eight hundred to be Saxon, and seven hundred and upwards to be Welsh.' It can be inferred from this circumstance only, that there are as many Celtic as Anglo Saxon words in the English. But even this inference is not just, except Mr. Owen rejected, as not radically Celtic, those words which are also to be found in the old Gothic, and its dialects, as formerly, or at present spoken on the Continent We except the Anglo-Saxon; because, where the words in it do not occur also in the other Gothic dialects, Mr. Owen might contend that they were originally Celtic. It is also reasonable to suppose, that as we are acquainted with but comparatively few Anglo Saxon words many in the English language are really and directly derived from it, which are, in all our dictionaries, referred to the other Gothic dialects. Whoever peruses the Gothic Gospels attentively will discover the origin of many English words, which are generally thought to have been borrowed from the modern languages of Europe. Where the English bears a more striking resemblance to the Gothic, than its supposed modern source, little doubt can be entertained, that it has passed from the Gothic in the most direct manner.

If the validity of these arguments be admitted, it necessarily follows, that the population of England was Belgic, not only at the Saxon invasion, but also when Cæsar landed; as no intermixture of a foreign nation took place between these periods.

Our author discovers, in the 11th section, that Mr. Pinkerton annihilates, in his geography, the proofs on which his grand po-

[8] Kilian. Teuton. Lex. Edit. 1776.
[9] Verstigan's Restit. Decay, Intell. p. 216.

sition rests, that the Celts were driven, 500 A C. to the western extremity of Gaul. Mr. Pinkerton says, 'Herodotus had so little knowledge of Gaul, as to suppose that the Ister took its rise in the Pyrenees; and even Aristotle seems only to have learnt that they (the Celts) inhabited the region above Iberia, or Spain.' (Vol. i p. 246.) We acknowledge, that we have not penetration sufficient to discover, that Mr. Pinkerton annihilates his proofs by these remarks on Herodotus and Aristotle. He quoted them to prove that, in their time, the principal Celtic settlement was near the Pyrenees. The testimony of Herodotus, on this point, is not invalidated, because he was mistaken respecting the source of the Ister; and it certainly does not follow, that Mr. Pinkerton, by saying that Aristotle knew little of the Celts, admits that his testimony is not to be trusted in what he does relate.

It is unnecessary to examine or state the conclusions contained in the last section, which our author, from a retrospective view of his authorities, thinks himself justified in drawing. As, however, we have produced several important passages, unnoticed or misunderstood by Mr. Pinkerton, and have thus been enabled both to strengthen his positions, and to bring forward some facts, which nearly decide the question; we shall collect and state our conclusions.

I. At a very early period, at least 1400 A C., the Scythians, originally a small tribe on the Araxes, had extended their conquests into Asia and into Europe, at least as far as Thrace[1].

II. 640 years A. C. the Scythians drove the Cimmerians out of Europe; again conquered Asia; and inspired terror into the King of Egypt[2].

III. The Scythæ were afterwards known by the names *Getæ, Gothi, Germani*[3].

IV. The testimony of the earliest writers authorizes us to place the principal settlement of the Celts, at least 400 A C., in the S. W. of Gaul, in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees; whence they appear to have been driven by the Aquitani on the S. and the Germans on the E. to that part of it which they inhabited in the time of Cæsar[4].

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[1] Compare Diod. Sic. lib. ii. 89.; lib. i. 35. Herod. Eut. 142. 148.

[2] Herod. Clio, 49.

[3] Strabo, lib. vii. 295. Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12.

[4] Herod. Eut. 114. Aristot. Meteor. lib. i. 145. De Mundo, c. 3. 604. de Mirab. Auscul. 1157. Athenæus, lib. iv. 151. 152. Strabo, lib. ii. 176. 178. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. p. 1. &c. Pliny, lib. iv. c. 18.

V. The Greek and Latin historians most frequently describe the Belgic Gauls, even when they call them Κελται, and *Galli*[1].

VI. The population and language of England were Belgic at the time of Cæsar's invasion[2].

The subject of the present work has confined our inquiry to Greece, Italy, Gaul, Germany, and England. In order, however, to render this article more complete and interesting, we shall briefly point out the sources of the population of the other countries of Europe. The inhabitants of Scotland, except those of the Highlands, are Gothic[3]. Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are also evidently peopled by a Gothic race. We have already shown that the Belgæ inhabited part of France. Its population and language were rendered more generally Gothic by the conquest of the Franks and Normans. Nothing can be decided respecting the original population of Greece, or the conquest of it by the Scythians. It is probable, however, that the latter did not enter into it in their first invasion of Europe. Their route evidently was from S. E. to N. W. and we know that they did not penetrate into Spain, or even the south of Gaul. Italy was most probably peopled from Greece; and this country, in part at least, from Africa, which appears also to have supplied the peninsula of Spain with its first inhabitants. The circumstances of the second Gothic invasion, which destroyed the Roman empire, are so well known, that no doubt can be entertained, that the present population of Spain and Italy is partly Gothic.

The Slavi, who invaded the north-west of Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire, were an Asiatic tribe; and the present inhabitants and languages of Russia, Bohemia, Poland

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[1] Strabo, lib. iv. 194—200; lib. vii. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. v. 212. Polyb. lib. ii. 42.—Compare the different passages in Cæsar and Tacitus, &c. where the words *Galli, Gallia,* occur.

[2] Cæsar, lib v. de Bell. Gall.—Tacit. Vit. Argic.—The facts and arguments already adduced, respecting the Belgic origin of the Anglo-Saxon language.—Lye's Dict. Goth. & A. Sax.—Hicke's Preface to his Gothic Grammar, and especially the Gothic Gospels, may be consulted, as containing many examples of English words evidently Gothic, which are not to be found in the Anglo-Saxon.

[3] Pinkerton's Inquiry.—Innes's Crit Essay.—The dialects of Angus and Buchan are very similar to those in Jutland; and the Scottish, in general, bears a greater resemblance to the Icelandic and German than to the Dutch. We make the former assertion on the authority of Mr. Niebuhr, son of the famous traveller, who joined an accurate and critical knowledge of the Scottish, in all its dialects, to a perfect acquaintance with those of his own country, (Jutland.)

and Dalmatia, are derived from them.[4] The Laplanders seem to be the aboriginal savages of that part of Europe which they now possess.[5] The present inhabitants of Hungary are not Huns, but descendants from the Fins, who conquered that country.[6] The Basques are most probably the remains of the ancient Iberi, or first African inhabitants of Spain.[7]

We promised to examine our author's Appendix, which contains a few instances of the twenty thousand Greek words similar to the Welsh. They by no means prove the identity, or even the great similarity, of these languages; but like every other collection of Celtic words, discover that tongue to be much intermixed with the Gothic. We have room, however, for only a very few; and our remarks on each shall be short.

All, Welsh; ἀλλος, Greek *other*. This word occurs in the same sense, in the Gothic; *allakunga, alienigena*: Luke xxvii. 18.—*Aru*, Welsh; ἀρω, Gr. to plough; Aryans, Goth. Luke xvii. 7.—*Cylla*, κοιλια, the stomach; but *cylla* comes from *kely*, to hide; and properly signifies what is hidden, (Lhuyd, Archæ. Britt. p. 104. in voc. *Occulto;*) whereas the Greek word κοιλια is applied to the stomach, because, it is hollow, (κοιλος). See also Jun. Etym. Ang voc. *Cellar*—*Drysu*, δρασσω, to entangle. *Dres*, in Irish, and *Dressen* in S. Welsh, is a bramble, (Lhuyd, p. 272. voc. *Bramble;*) whence this meaning of the verb is plainly derived. In what Greek author does δρασσω mean to entangle?

Whoever examines the remainder of these instances, which most probably were carefully selected, will be inclined to retort on our author what he says respecting Mr. Pinkerton's comparison of the Scythic and Gothic mythology. This reminds us of Fluellen's comparison of Macedon and Monmouth—'There is a river in Macedon; there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth:

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[4] Procopius, lib. ii. 15. iii. 33. apud Pinkert. Diss. 157.—Frisch de Ling. Slavon. apud Diss. 70.—Tooke's Russia.

[5] Leemius de Laponibus, c. 1.

[6] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns.

[7] Compare the Basque language with the Old Mauric, on which there is a dissertation at the end of Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica (de lingua Shilhensi.) See also the dissertation prefixed to Dictionario Trilingue, del Castellano, Bascuence, y Latin, by the Jesuit Larramendi. In order that the reader may compare the languages of those nations, which we have affirmed to be Gothic, with that tongue, we shall mention the authors in which a respective comparison may be found. Ihre. Suio Goth. Lex. Wachter Germ. Gloss.—L. Kuster, Gemeenschap tussen de Gottischespraeck en de Neyder dutsche. Sibbald's Glossary to Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.—Aldrete, Del Origen y principio del lengua Castellana.

it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my brains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one; 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmon in both.' (Vind. p. 104.)

We shall conclude with stating, very briefly, our general opinion of the Vindication of the Celts. It certainly completely fails in its attempts to prove the grand positions with which it sets out, and to overturn Mr. Pinkerton's hypothesis; but it destroys what is weak, and exposes what is false, in that gentleman's Dissertation. It may thus be of great service to him, if he be not too obstinate to give up what is untenable, and too proud, or too hardened, to confess and correct his literary delinquencies. The cause of truth must at all events be benefited; it will be freed from error: and the complete and frequent detection of mistake, and want of fidelity, in Mr. Pinkerton, will induce the readers of similar works not to put implicit confidence in the most solemn asseverations, but to examine every authority, and judge for themselves.

ART. VIII. *The History of the Maroons, from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone; including the Expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years; with a succinct History of the Island previous to that period.* By R. C. Dallas, Esq. Two Volumes 8vo. pp. 987. London, Longman & Rees. 1803.

WHEN the title of a work extends to such a length, and embraces so minute a detail of the contents, there is reason to suspect that the author has either misnamed his performance, or that his design is defective in unity; and the most cursory perusal of the volumes now before us must convince any one that it is liable to both these exceptions in no common degree.

The design of the book is stated by the author, in a very turgid and diffuse preface, to comprehend the History of the Maroons, a subject extremely short and simple, not necessarily connected with any other branch of West Indian politics, and capable of being handled, without reference either to the general topics of colonial affairs, or the private adventures of individuals. But the conciseness of the subject was apparently its chief drawback in the eyes of Mr. Dallas; and we are indebted to his desire of eking it out for at least one half of the pages which compose these volumes. Because the Maroons lived in Jamaica, a '*succinct history*' of that island is prefixed, occupying a hundred pages. Above twenty pages are added, repeating some of this history, and describing the state of affairs in St.

Domingo, because these bore some relation to the interests of Jamaica. Then, because the Maroons were negroes, and other negroes are slaves, a copy of the consolidated Slave act of Jamaica is allowed to occupy above fifty pages. Colonel Quarrell was sent to Cuba to hire bloodhounds during the last Maroon war; therefore the whole adventures of this gentleman are related in a hundred and twenty pages, with a minute description of the towns through which he passed, the personages whom he happened to visit, and many of the entertainments at which he was present. After the whole subject of the Maroons has been exhausted, our author finds he has nearly two hundred of his pages yet to fill; and this he does handsomely enough with desultory remarks, anecdotes, descriptions, and statements, relative to Jamaica and the negroes. The same glaring want of taste, and obvious spirit of book making, which united in dictating this plan, appear to have presided over its execution: The style is throughout wretched, and the composition is precisely that of a novel. We believe few works, under the name of History, furnish so many specimens of flippancy, bombast, and dereliction of dignity, as this of Mr. Dallas. It is written not only in the form of letters, but with all the pertness and levity of female epistolary correspondence. The meanest forms of expression are constantly resorted to, without the excuse of necessity, or the remuneration of humour. The most pompous images are introduced, where the subject required only plain narrative; and, as if to render the appearance of those figures more ludicrous, they are usually surrounded with the lowest allusions of which our language is susceptible. The more trivial and undignified incidents are selected for the purpose of amusing; and the whole mass appears to have been combined with a rapidity that excluded all chance of correction or arrangement.

To justify these strictures, we shall lay before our readers a few specimens, taken almost at random, from the rich assortment which every letter presents us with. Partly from the inelegance of manners, and the vulgarity of character, which prevails in most of the commercial settlements of the New World, and partly from the admixture of the gibberish used by the negroes, the nomenclature of the West Indian islands is extremely ill adapted to the purposes of a dignified or affecting narrative. It would have been difficult even for Robertson to have sustained the complete propriety and decorum of his style, had he been called upon to narrate the actions of Cudjoe, Johnny, and Cuffy—at the Cockpits, Helshire, Nanny, Parliston Trash-house, Amity Hall, One-eye, or Putty-putty bottom. But a writer of the most limited skill in composition will perceive the necessity of

introducing all such names as seldom as possible in his finer passages; and will, upon no account whatever, aggravate the natural meanness of his subject by detailing the remarks of negroes in broken language, and adopting, unnecessarily, their low and disgusting expressions. Of this rule our author seems lamentably ignorant. His negroes are always chattering, and his epithets are rather vulgar and ludicrous, than easy or familiar. Such of our readers as wish to see the effects of negro eloquence, in working up the eloge of a conquering general, and in elucidating the doctrines of ethics, may turn to vol. i. p. 246 and vol. ii. p. 226.

The character of Mr. Dallas's nomenclature may, indeed, be estimated by the circumstance of '*fellows*' generally being preferred to '*men*,' or '*soldiers*;' and by the following assortment of terms, which all occur in two pages, '*villain*,'—'*villanous*'—'*rascals*,'—'*tars*'—'*vagabonds*,' vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

Our author is not more happy in his combinations of words, than in his selection of simple applications. The difficulty of confining the Maroons by a cordon is compared to that of '*penning pigeons in a meadow*,' vol. i. 238. A subaltern, at a certain post, had '*a ticklish game to play*,' vol. ii. 82. And, immediately before, we are told, that 'Senor (or, as he calls him, Signor) Pedrasso *would not sport his toe*,' although Mr. Quarrell, '*dressed a la militaire*,' walked a minuet with the Marquisa, and supplied, by good humour and address, '*the place of gestic lore*,' ib. 79.

In the larger patches of composition, which are intended to strike the reader, Mr. Dallas is, if possible, still less felicitous. Our unfeigned and conscientious admiration of the person bedaubed in the following passage may lead us to excuse a digression of this sort; but it inclines us, at the same time to lament that so little taste should be displayed on so fine a subject.

'And here, my dear friend, suffer me to pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration, however slight it may be from my pen, to the consummate statesman, whose wisdom and foresight, whose prudence and perseverance, whose talents and firmness, whose energy and virtue, have saved this realm; saved the majesty of a Sovereign, the dignity and spirit of a gentleman, the independence and happiness of a people. The brilliancy of such a character cannot be eclipsed by the turbulence of party-sophistry, and the fermenting crudities of mob-leaders. Who observes any obscurity in the transit of Mercury across the Sun? Nay, although the glorious orb of heat and light is at times darkened by an inferior interposer, the opake body soon passes away, and leaves its splendour undiminished, &c. vol. i. p. 16, 17.

Our author's talents for describing the beauties of natural scenery are somewhat of the same cast with his powers of eulogizing great characters.

'The site of the New Town commands a prospect, in which the charms of the sublime and of the beautiful are united, and presents subjects that would have been worthy of the Italian pencil in the age of Leo, and are worthy of the English one under George III. Imagine that you have rode in a carriage from Montego-Bay to John's Hall, that you have mounted and walked your horse up the long ascent to Kensington, that you have trotted through majestic woods to Vaughan's field, made your way to the Old Town, and scrambled a-foot through the defile to the New one; you will stand in need of rest, and I shall therefore let you sleep till the next morning. The smoke of the habitations has been condensed by the weight of the night-air, and has mingled with the thick and fleecy-looking fog rising from innumerable glades. Injure not my description, by suffering the intrusion of a misplaced idea of an insalubrious exhalation,' &c. Vol. i. p. 84, 85.

If, to the manifold imperfections now pointed out in the style and arrangement of this work, we add the want of any correct reference to authorities upon disputed points; the excessive rapidity of the narrative in the most important parts of the subject, contrasted with extreme minuteness of detail on more trivial occasions; and the most unpardonable negligence in quoting the opinions or statements of those who are attacked for error or inaccuracy, it will perhaps be admitted, that the author has somewhat too highly estimated the importance of his work, when he ranked it with that class of writings in which the qualities of elegance, dignity, and correctness, are most peculiarly required. But if, instead of a history, we had only been led to expect in these volumes an amusing collection of anecdotes, founded in truth, we must admit, that we should have risen from the perusal highly satisfied. This is, in fact, considered as a book of *entertainment*, one of the most pleasing and interesting that we have ever met with. Taking it in this point of view, the selection and arrangement displays no small portion of skill; but, then, there is too much statistical detail and protracted narrative for a mere miscellany intended to amuse: so that although the perusal of the greater part may give pleasure to those who read without any other object than the gratification of a curiosity quickly excited, satisfied, and forgotten; in a word, to the readers of novels, magazines, and newspapers; yet they will pass over a considerable portion without finding any thing to arrest their attention: while the readers of history will probably discover little in the whole work which is not better told elsewhere, and will be disgusted with the manner in which that little is delivered. To a certain class of readers, indeed, this work may prove a source of more unmingled delight. They who consider the present system of

West Indian policy as right and expedient, that is to say, they who possess West Indian estates, which require new supplies of negroes, will probably receive great satisfaction from the principles maintained by Mr. Dallas; and we cannot help wishing that he had ventured to act upon what must be his belief or conviction, that those persons are the least respectable of his readers.

As some of the subjects of Mr. Dallas's work are in themselves highly interesting, and as, we doubt not, the qualities which, according to the foregoing estimate, it may be allowed to possess, will procure it many readers, we shall now direct our attention more particularly to the plan and substance of the book; pointing out, in the first place, the real amount of the new information which the author pretends to communicate; and then stating what appear to us the chief questions of more general discussion, that arise out of the historical detail.

The '*Succinct History of Jamaica*,' we are informed in the preface, is the work of a Mr. Cutting; and Mr Dallas bestows upon it a very liberal eulogium. Now, this information happens to be as incorrect as the eulogium is unmerited; for the '*Succinct History*' is a very bad abstract from Edwards, frequently expressed in the same words, and sometimes adorned with the very quotations of that well known author.

The first letter, which is pretty much on the same subject, Mr. Dallas has derived from the same source; but this he partly acknowledges in a note. In one part of the letter we meet with a theory, given under the form of a fact, and, we will venture to say, equally unfounded in both these capacities. The expedition to St Domingo is charged with being the cause of the negro emancipation in that ill-fated colony. He must, indeed, be grossly ignorant of West Indian affairs who can discover, in the British invasion, the slightest connexion with the internal dissentions which, both before and after the year 1793, overthrew the colonial system of the French Islands. We wish Mr. Dallas had studied those parts of Edwards, from which instruction was to be derived, as attentively as he has perused the parts from which he could extract and abridge. It is difficult to say in what chapter of the '*History of St. Domingo*' the most complete refutation of this calumny may be found: And yet Edwards, like every Jamaica landholder, is loud in condemning the St. Domingo expedition; he even seems willing to believe in some mysterious connexion between that measure and the proclamation of the French commissioners. But the whole of those memorable events, which preceded the invasion under General Williamson,

concur to demonstrate, that the negro emancipation was not even accelerated by the fears of the Republican agents.

In the account which Mr. Dallas gives of the Maroons, he is much more copious and amusing than Mr. Edwards; but only now and then gives us more real information. Among the *desiderata* which common readers must have found in Edwards' tract, and which the present work supplies, we may mention as most important the distinct statement of the difference between the original Maroons and the runaway Negroes, who afterwards received the same appellation. The former were the slaves of the Spaniards, left behind them at their expulsion; and they settled in the eastern and northern parts of the island. The latter left their masters in the rebellion 1690, and settled on the south side. They were afterwards joined by a number of fugitives, chiefly Coromantees; by the Cottawoods, a tribe of the Maroons; and by the Madagascars, a tribe of uncertain origin. This new race of independent negroes was consolidated under the famous chief Cudjoe, in 1730; and became so formidable, that, after various unsuccessful attempts to reduce them, Governor Trelawney was induced to give them an advantageous peace in the year 1738. It was this tribe alone that engaged in the last rebellion. Now, from Mr. Edwards' account no such information can be collected: He makes no distinction between the original Spanish Maroons, whose descendants still remain in the island, and the tribe of Cudjoe, the Trelawney Town Maroons, composed of rebels and fugitives from the English plantations, with a few Spanish Maroons. These were sent off, after the last rebellion; first to Nova Scotia, and then to Sierra Leone.

Another obligation, under which Mr. Dallas has laid the inquisitive reader, arises from the clear and accurate description of the Cockpits, and the Maroon mode of fighting. For want of this, the narrative of Edwards is extremely obscure in many parts. We are still farther indebted to our author, for correcting several misrepresentations into which Edwards has been led by his interested zeal against every thing that tends to favour the negroes. Accustomed, as we have been, to the inaccuracies of that writer upon all negro questions, we were not surprised to find abundant confirmations of our general opinions respecting his historical merits. We never believed his account of the Maroon character. Mr. Dallas brings his own testimony, and that of his respectable informers, to strengthen our disbelief.

As an example of the discrepancy which often prevails among eye-witnesses of the same facts, we may observe, that both these writers ground several of their contradictory opinions upon alleged personal observation; and as a proof of Mr. Edwards' zeal

to blacken the character of the Maroons, we shall mention one singular circumstance. Mr. Dallas tells us, that six weeks after Colonel Fitch's death, his skeleton was found among other bones of the slain, and that the skull was thrown within the ribs (vol. i. p. 230). In order to render this picture more horrid, Mr. Edwards has converted the six weeks into a day or two, covered the bones with flesh, and filled the abominable cavity with bowels (sect. 3. *sub fine*). What he thus gains is indeed trifling; but the dishonesty of a trick is not much palliated by the insignificance of the gain.

A more extensive error has been committed by the same writer, if we may trust the result of a comparison which naturally forces itself on us, in reading his account of the plan for employing bloodhounds, (sect. 1. & 4.), and contrasting it with the narrative given by Mr. Dallas, (vol. ii. p. 4. *et seqq*).

Mr. Dallas ascribes the suggestion of this very dubious measure to a conversation held by Mr. Quarrell with a Spaniard, who had seen it adopted successfully against the Musquito Indians. Mr. Edwards, after stating a fact wholly omitted by Mr. Dallas, that dogs had been employed for tracking the Maroons in the war 1730, describes the measures of 1795 as a recurrence to the laudable policy of former times. According to the former author, the only use of the dogs was *to find out* the retreats of the Maroons. The narrative of the latter proves, that the discovery of their haunts must be synonymous with their immediate butchery, either by the dogs or the chasseurs. Edwards describes the dogs as trained to the chace of wild cattle. Dallas uniformly distinguishes the true bloodhounds from those used in cattle hunting; the one, being trained exclusively to the scent of men, the taste of human flesh, and the tearing of the victim limb from limb; the other, being only common hounds, of great strength indeed, but of very *inferior* value, in negro warfare. We shall insert, for the information of our readers, the following description, from vol. ii. p. 56, 63, & 67.

'The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in; that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops —they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position they continue barking, to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home, the dogs are kept chained; and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are

constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs, called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a trick. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well: and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening very much towards the after part of the jaw. His coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather square set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff; but if by this the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breeed.' p. 56—58.

'The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice. Were one of them to bark at a hog he would be severely punished.' p. 63.

'The Besucal chasseurs had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue: they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out till perfectly trained.' p. 67.

Now, let it be remembered, that one hundred and twenty dogs and *forty* chasseurs, were transported from Besucal to Jamaica; and it must be evident that few only of the number were properly trained; and, consequently, that more of the duty of hunting Maroons was meant to be left to the bloodhounds than to the drivers.

To Mr. Dallas we are also indebted for a statement entirely omitted by Mr. Edwards, not only of the real cause of terror, which the negroes of Jamaica had, on the landing of the hounds; a terror which Mr. Edwards ascribes to false accounts of their qualities, but also of the specimens given by these animals, of their skill in the chace of men, and their thirst of human blood. vol. ii. p. 160. & 169.

'In this bottom Zeny encamped, judging it better to give rest to the men and the dogs, now exhausted with fatigue as well as thirst, and to advance on the Maroons in the morning, with the day before him, when the enemy would be less able to avail themselves of their superior knowledge of the ground than in the night. The party had scarcely erected their huts when the barking of a dog was heard near them. They got immediately under arms, and proceeding in the direction of the sound, discovered a negro endeavouring to make his escape. One of the Spanish dogs was sent after him. On coming up, the negro cut him twice

with his muschet, on which the dog seized him by the nape of the neck, and secured him.' p. 160. 161.

'One of the dogs that had been unmuzzled to drink, when there was not the least apprehension of any mischief, went up to the woman who was sitting attending to a pot in which she was preparing a mess. The dog smelled at it, and was troublesome; this provoked her; she took up a stick and began to beat him, on which he seized on her throat, which he would not let go till his head was severed from his body by his master. The windpipe of the woman being much torn, she could not be saved.' p. 169.

It is only necessary to add, that Mr. Dallas is as keen an advocate as Mr. Edwards for the use of the bloodhounds; that he derives all his original information from the person charged with the employment of procuring them, and honoured with the praise of having suggested the plan; that he evidently softens the information, as much as is consistent with truth; and that we can obtain a fair account of the scheme of the agents employed in executing it, only by comparing the different parts of his scattered narrative. We have judged it necessary to enter into these details, because they furnish the most material branch of the new matter contained in this work, and prepare the reader for the discussion of the main question suggested by the Maroon affairs—the propriety of employing bloodhounds in a war against human beings. We now proceed to offer a few remarks upon this point, chiefly because we conceive it has been much misstated on both sides, and because the situation of West Indian affairs renders the recurrence of similar discussions a matter of high probability*. We think it necessary to premise that, after the dogs arrived in Jamaica, they were uniformly kept in the rear of the army; that, unless in the two instances above mentioned, they never shed a drop of human blood; and that the commander, on all occasions, peremptorily rejected the earnest solicitations of the Spanish chasseurs, who were eager *to finish the war*, as they termed it, and to obtain the 960 dollars *per* head of the Maroons. We do not mean this as a compliment to the gallant officer, who innocently, rather than gloriously, terminated the campaign; for, had he acted otherwise, he would have been, in our apprehension, guilty of a crime.

The question upon which we propose to offer a few remarks, is closely connected with the first principles of political science,

* If common fame may be credited, the French are at present engaged in a campaign against the St. Domingo rebels, with the aid of bloodhounds. Considering the nature of the consular government, and the wretched people over whom it is stretched, we cannot avoid being astonished at this measure having only now been adopted.

and may appear to savour a little too much of metaphysical disputation. We shall endeavour, however, to steer clear of casuistical topics, and to offer a few plain criteria for the examination of the subject.

It must be observed, in the outset, that the mere consideration of humanity is by no means the chief argument against the employment of extraordinary methods of attack. In all civilized warfare, certain common and mutual rights are recognized; and the dread of retaliation will always operate as a prudential motive upon those combatants whose feelings are the most callous. It is not, therefore, from motives of humanity, but from views of interest, that the chief arguments on both sides of this question will naturally be drawn. By overlooking this principle, however, it has happened, that all the arguments of analogy which have been used to defend the employment of bloodhounds against the Maroons, if they prove any thing, prove a vast deal too much. The party who favoured the scheme, including the Legislature of Jamaica, maintained, that animals had all along been used in war, by the most refined nations in the world; that the Asiatics had used elephants, and would have enlisted lions and tygers in their service, had these possessed sufficient docility; that every European nation adopts the use of horses, principally for the purpose of following up an attack upon discomfited and flying infantry. But, surely, if the only limits to the right of employing such auxiliaries, are the previous usage of what we thus term civilized states, and the safety with which those auxiliaries may be employed, the very same limits may be stretched, so as to comprehend all the stratagems of ancient warfare, the serpent-pots of Hannibal, the assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain, the poisoned arrows of the Indians and Orientals, nay, the compendious waste of life by poisoning the meat and drink of an enemy, and the punishment of captives by tortures, not to mention red-hot balls, and refusal of quarter. The same expedients may be justified by the other more general argument which the advocates for the use of bloodhounds resorted to, that the justice of the end justifies all the means which can be proved useful towards its attainment. To poison the water of a besieged city, or to assassinate the generals of a hostile army, are measures of obvious use towards the defeat of the enemy, and are no more liable to the charge of wantonness, or malice, or needless cruelty, than any other acts of hostility.

To the illustrations given by Edwards, in his statement of the reasoning adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, Mr. Dallas adds several other topics, which he seems to think still more decisive of the question. 'Were a man,' he demands, 'bit by a mad dog, would he scruple to cut or burn out the part which had received the contagion? Do we not amputate a limb, to save the body?

and if self preservation,' he continues, 'dictate these personal sufferings, shall not the preservation of a large community justify the use of the readiest, perhaps the only means of averting destruction?' But, besides, that this argument applies, like all the rest which we have considered, to the justification of every species of enormity, whereby military operations may be facilitated, and the destruction of war rendered more extensive and unsparing, it should be remembered, that the very act of hostilities against any tribe, presupposes it not to be a part of the community which carries on the war with it. It is ludicrous to talk of a concession, or a loss, or a sacrifice, made to preserve one of the belligerent parties, at the sole expence of the other. The act of submitting to a painful and extraordinary privation, in order to prevent a still greater evil, derives its whole merit from affecting the person or the community, that at once feels the smart, and reaps the benefit: We can give but little credit to the heroism which seeks for self-preservation, not in self-denial and sufferings, but in the pains and injuries of others.

It is indeed alleged, that the Maroons were rebels, and not enemies. But although, like many other nations, they owed their origin to a successful rebellion at a former period, it is clear that they had acquired by the concessions of the Europeans themselves, a right to be treated, in many important particulars, exactly like an independent community. By the celebrated treaty most unfortunately concluded in the year 1738, in consequence of mutual misconceptions of the state of things on each side, lands were granted in perpetuity to the Maroons, as a separate tribe; the general plan of a system was sketched out, by which they agreed to regulate themselves towards their British neighbours; and, by their own voluntary agreement, certain limitations were imposed upon their power of arranging their own affairs. Although the seeds of a new rupture had been left to spring up gradually by the operation of this compact, (as too often happens in the transactions of greater communities), it is obvious that the immediate cause of the hostilities in 1795 was of such a nature as would, in Europe, have been held to throw the blame upon Great Britain. The letter of the treaty was observed, and its spirit completely disregarded. Two Maroons were whipt for thieving. To this their countrymen would have had no objections; but, then, the punishment was performed by the hands of a slave, while it was well known that the most irreconcileable enmity has been successfully encouraged between the Maroons and the enslaved negroes. The rebellion would have been quelled, had not another step been adopted, equally repugnant to the spirit of the treaty—that of sending those who came to make submission, on board of a vessel,

when it was known that the thing most dreaded by the Maroons was transportation from the country. If, to these unnecessary insults, we add, the persevering obstinacy with which the government maintained in his office a superintendant, extremely obnoxious to the tribe, and excluded from that situation the person who had gained their entire favour and confidence, we shall probably be inclined to think that the Maroons did not resort to hostilities, without having somewhat of the same pretexts which are held to justify more civilized nations in adopting warlike measures; and, at any rate, that there was nothing so extraordinary in their conduct, as to justify the adoption of uncommon methods of annoyance on the other side.

But Mr. Dallas ridicules the clamour that was raised in England against the employment of bloodhounds; partly by enumerating instances of greater and more inexcusable violence; such as, the Spaniards hunting the naked Americans, the Romans exposing criminals to wild beasts in their public amusements, and the Spartans hunting the Helotes for their diversion; and partly by stating, what he considers as a parallel case, the practice of keeping watch-dogs. With respect to the last of these arguments, it is sufficient to remark, that the objection formerly urged, applies to it in full force: it proves a great deal too much, if we admit that it applies at all. With respect to the former cases, what do they prove, but that still greater enormities were once committed by the Spaniards, the Romans, and the Spartans, than those of which we have to accuse the government of Jamaica? It is no very great vindication of our countrymen in the colony, that the enormity of their conduct was less shocking than those outrageous violations of every human feeling and principle, by which the most warlike nations of antiquity, and one of the greatest states in modern times, have branded their names with everlasting infamy.

The circumstance of a difference in civilization, cannot, by any means, render the case of the Maroons an exception to the laws which, partly from right declared by usage, partly from clear views of mutual interest, prohibit a recurrence to extraordinary modes of annoyance. It becomes a refined people to war with savages, if circumstances render such hostilities necessary, according to the same rules of honour and good faith which regulate their attacks upon more polished states. Once admit that the line may be overstepped in consideration of the character of the enemy, and you must sanction the adoption of every enormity which is practised by savages themselves in their barbarous system of warfare. It is the proud distinction of a civilized nation, to have abandoned, at a former period of its progress, all those arts of ferocious ingenuity; and there is not a shade to separate the crime

of recurring to the same state of barbarism, in order to oppose tribes who have not yet abandoned it, from the crime of introducing those modes of barbarity into contests with civilized nations, in order that this temporary dereliction of the civilized state may render the continuance of hostilities shorter, and their recurrence less frequent.

But the Maroons had various advantages, in their knowledge of the country—their acute senses—their perseverance under hardships and privation. These are the only advantages of savages; and, to counterbalance them, we apprehend the advantages peculiar to civilized warriors are abundantly sufficient. We conceive that discipline, artillery, and regular supplies of provisions, will generally render acuteness of sense superfluous, patience and perseverance unnecessary, and acquaintance with the fastnesses of the country of little avail.

In the situation of the Maroons, the fortuitous circumstances of an uncommonly strong position, and nice adaptation to the rigours of the climate, were added to the common advantages of rude tribes. But vast superiority of numbers, all the facilities arising from a possession of the towns and coasts, and a decided preference in the eyes of the slaves, were no trifling matters in favour of the Europeans, to match the accidental superiority of the savages in these particulars.

The proceedings of the Maroons were indeed stained with those enormities which always attend a barbarian's conquests: but the perpetration of such enormities is the great feature which distinguishes a savage state: And as an immediate sacrifice of the bad passions to which they owe their origin, would by no means insure the possession of discipline and refinement: so, the sacrifice of regularity and humanity, would not secure to Europeans all the advantages of systematic cruelty. In short, the contest between foes of different degrees of civilization, is a thing, on every account, much to be deprecated. But if, by our own policy, we have filled our colonies with barbarians, let us not aggravate the original crime, by adding to it another—let us not overleap the bounds which separate the savage from the civilized state. That the bloodhounds were never used, can be no vindication of the measure in question. If the Maroons had resisted, they would have been partly tracked, that is, hunted and shot, when they could not resist; partly torn to pieces by animals who are trained to the scent and taste of human blood. It was only the effects produced upon the savages, by seeing this refinement of barbarous tactics, which prevented the apparatus from being used as it was produced. It would be no vindication of a general who should poison his swords, or the enemy's water, to say, that the fear of the poison kept the enemy from either fighting or drinking, by

which he was subdued; nor would it much excuse a highwayman, that the fear of his pistol prevented him from committing murder, in order to effect a robbery. The Legislature of Jamaica, if the idea of *right* applies to national proceedings, were guilty of a breach of public duty, by hiring bloodhounds, although this measure operated by fear and not by actual murder. They were guilty of gross impolicy, in an enlarged sense of the word, unless it can be alleged that the shortest and easiest means of attaining a justifiable object, are always the most expedient, even when they are most criminal.

It is upon the Legislature of the island, and not upon the Governor or the Commander in Chief, that the foul stain, which we cannot help thinking the British name received in this transaction, must rest. The Colonial Assembly, with that meanness of plan, that precipitancy of action, and that cowardly eagerness after present safety, which might have been expected in a parish vestry, adopted this mode of proceeding, immediately after they had nearly come to a pusillanimous resolution of giving the Maroons equal terms, without trying the effects of General Walpole's system. Their subsequent conduct was marked by similar inconsistency and narrowness of views, both towards their own agents in the bloodhound scheme, and towards the Maroons themselves. They virtually acknowledged that Mr. Quarrell had saved the island by his ability in executing the plan; but they were too jealous of a fellow colonist, to return him direct thanks: They treated with the enemy, and in our humble opinion, violated their plighted faith. This is the next question of importance in considering the Maroon affairs; and we shall say but a very few words upon it; though it illustrates the absurdity of expecting much from Colonial Assemblies.

In the convention between the Maroons and General Walpole, ratified by the Government, it was stipulated, that they should lay down their arms, and deliver up themselves and the deserted negroes, before a specified day. It was also stipulated, that they should *not* be carried out of the island. Now, it cannot be denied that the Maroons were slow in performing their part of the stipulation. The first day of surrender specified in the treaty was allowed to elapse, and another was named; which also passed over, without any considerable number of Maroons surrendering. General Walpole, therefore, deemed the treaty sufficiently infringed to justify him in hastening their surrender, by threats of using the hounds. But his principal instrument of persuasion consisted in assurances that the stipulations of the treaty would be strictly observed by Government; for he plainly saw that the backwardness of the Maroons arose entirely from the distrust which forms so distinguishing a feature of the savage

character. As soon as he had succeeded in removing these suspicions, the Maroons surrendered themselves, and the Assembly, on the ground of the treaty having been set aside by their delay, immediately voted that they should be transported to the British dominions in North America. The Governor left the determination of this point entirely to them; and they positively refused even to hear General Walpole give evidence with respect to those parts of the Maroon affairs which he alone had an opportunity of knowing. When we consider the difference of the British and the Maroons in point of refinement, we shall perhaps be disposed to think, that some inaccuracy on the part of the latter, in observing the precise terms of the treaty, might have been forgiven. But when it is admitted that the Maroons continued to come in gradually on the faith of the subsisting treaty; that their slowness originated in distrust; that their submission was accepted without any new stipulations, we cannot hesitate to declare the rigorous conduct of the Assembly a direct violation of justice, as well as humanity, supported by a pitiful nicety in the interpretation of a compact, the spirit of which had been observed, as far as the British had any right to expect, from their knowledge of the party with whom they bargained. The Maroons were sent to Nova Scotia, where they remained an expense to the island of Jamaica, from their habitual want of industry; and miserable from the severity of the climate, and their hankering after a more southerly exposure. Rather induced by the expense, than by the unhappy condition of these people, the Colonial Legislature took measures, in the year 1799, for transporting them to Sierra Leone, where they have since lived in greater quietness and comfort.

The opinions of our author upon all the negro questions, differ extremely from those which we have been led to form, even by attending to his own statements of fact. He positively denies the dangers of an independent negro commonwealth being allowed to grow up in the West Indies. Upon this subject we have already delivered our sentiments, and have sketched the reasons on which they are founded. (No. I. Art. XXVII.) He objects to the scheme of cultivating by free negroes, and argues against the author of the '*Crisis*,' in a vague and declamatory style. Although on this point we agree with him, yet we are not at all confirmed in our opinion, by his very loose and superficial remarks, and we cannot avoid reprobating the careless or insidious manner in which he alludes to the excellent writer just now mentioned. He describes him as the champion of negro liberty, and declaims against the idea of emancipation, as if any one could now be found willing to support so insane a doctrine. But nothing can be more absurd than his defence of the slave trade.

He seriously maintains, that it is authorised by religion and usage; that it is calculated to civilize Africa; and that the possession of liberty is rendered of little value, by the recollection of what has lately passed in France. We have often heard the French revolution pressed into the service of those who wanted an *argumentum ad populum*, to palliate existing abuses in the political establishments of Europe. But we have not until now observed that calamitous event used as a vindication of domestic slavery, and still less as a defence of the negro commerce.

Upon the whole, we cannot give much praise to Mr. Dallas's performance, either as a history or a piece of reasoning. All the grave and argumentative part of it tends little to instruct or convince. The adventures of Mr. Quarrell, however, and the anecdotes of the Maroon war, may certainly amuse those who delight in useless reading; and we must acknowledge, that, after giving up all idea of receiving real benefit from the book, we have been highly entertained by perusing it merely as a romance, or an unimportant piece of biography.

ART. IX. *Nouvelle Theorie de la Formation des Filons, par A. G. Werner.* Traduit de l'Allemand, par J. F. Dabuisson. Paris. 1802.

IN the present state of society, metallic substances are among the most powerful of our moral and physical agents. The theory of their formation, and the rules that may lead to their discovery, are therefore the most important objects of mineralogical research. The circumstances in which they are found, the economy to be observed in obtaining them, their probable extent, and possible reproduction, are inquiries which affect the interest of all, and involve the most intricate and interesting questions of geological speculation.

The author of the work we are about to consider, has long enjoyed deserved celebrity. His treatise 'on the External Characters of Fossils,' may be said to have first rendered mineralogy a communicable science, by substituting precise terms, accurate definitions, and infallible criteria, for the vague, unmeaning, or unintelligible descriptions with which the adepts of the old school had formerly bewildered their disciples, and involved their art itself in barbarous mysticism. Elevated by his talents to the respectable situation of Professor in the first mineralogical school in Europe, Werner has seen his system triumph over the opposition of prejudice, petulance, and jealousy. His authority

has been appealed to, his expressions quoted, his book translated, and his lectures pilfered. In Germany, an empire of miners and mineralogists, his words have oracular authority; and in no country where the science he professes is known, can his assertion be despised, or his authority lightly dissented from. In the work before us, there was reason to expect that the audacity of Theory should have been repressed by matured judgment, and by nearly thirty years of extensive and indefatigable observation. The powers of the author's mind have been directed to one grand phænomenon in the economy of Nature, for which he has laboured to devise a satisfactory explication. How far he has succeeded in that arduous undertaking, remains for us to inquire.

The theory itself must be fairly stated in the outset: It may be condensed into four propositions.

1. That all veins were originally fissures in the rocks they traverse.

2. That these fissures were filled from above.

3. That veins differ widely in the relative antiquity of their formation.

4. That the same vein, being partially filled at different periods, often contains substances of various antiquities.

The substance of the remarks by which these propositions are explained and connected, may be found in the following abstract: When stratified mountains were formed at the bottom of the ocean by successive depositions, the moist incoherent mass must, on the retreat of the waters, have sunk towards the unsupported side, and its retreat must have produced numerous and profound fissures. Other fissures would be formed by the contraction of the strata during the evaporation of the superfluous moisture; and every earthquake must have increased their number. Nor is their formation confined to remote antiquity. Rents of great extent have been lately formed, after a wet season, in Silesia; and in Calabria, during the dreadful earthquake by which it was desolated. Empty fissures of various dimensions are not uncommon in rocks, and would have formed veins, had not their situation debarred them from the necessary impregnation, or their formation been subsequent to the last solution in which the country was immersed.

Veins resemble fissures, in contracting as they descend, in finally closing at bottom, and in sometimes splitting into minute ramifications. In their position they are nearly vertical, and the veins of one district that contain the same minerals are generally parallel to each other in their direction, and have probably been produced by the same convulsion. The derangement of rocks by veins, proves, still more unequivocally, that they were originally

open fissures; the division of the rocks being effected by violence, and the separated portion removed from its natural situation by the shock.

On considering the interior structure of veins, it will evidently appear that they were open fissures, which have been gradually filled from above. The substances they contain are disposed in coats parallel to the walls, and arranged in corresponding order on each side. Those coats that are in contact with the walls are thinnest at the top, become more thick as they descend, and sometimes unite. The inner coats receive the impressions of the crystals in the coats nearest the walls, thus establishing their anterior formation, as the enveloping substance must be more recent than what was enveloped. Veins often contain round pebbles, and are sometimes entirely filled with them. Portions of the rock they traverse are frequently enclosed, preserving the acuteness of their angles. Though the occurrence is rare, several well authenticated instances demonstrate the existence of petrifactions in veins; and trees have been found at a great depth in a vein of *wakke*. There is no conceivable explication of these phænomena, says Werner, but by supposing the substances filling the vein to have entered from above, and to have been precipitated from aqueous solutions.

The same depositions that constituted strata, would form veins, when precipitated into fissures existing in rocks of anterior formation. Thus we find veins of granite, porphyry, basalt, quartz, carbonate of lime, &c. If the solution contained metals, the vein would become metalliferous; and, at the same time, depositions on the surface of the rocks would form strata rich in ore. It is evident that the stratified depositions of ore are exposed to many causes of destruction from which the walls of rock would protect the substances inclosed in a vein; but a sufficient number have escaped decomposition, alluvion, and the overwhelming incumbency of subsequent depositions, to prove the general operation of the laws which have affected their formation; for there are few ores existing in veins that may not be found in strata, some of which are of great extent, and rich in metallic impregnation.

From the diversity of substances that occupy veins, and the manner of their introduction, different modes of formation, and of course different degrees of antiquity, must be assigned to them. It is not even to be supposed, that the fissures in which they are found were all formed at the same time. The case has been so much the contrary, that some have evidently been filled and consolidated, before others were produced by subsequent convulsions, which, acting in a different direction on the mass of

rock, formed a chasm intersecting the former vein; and, so tremendous has the shock often been, that not merely is a new fissure generated, but the masses of rock, and with them the portions of the old vein, have been laterally removed many yards from their former situation. The new fissure, filled by subsequent depositions, exhibits one vein traversing another, interrupting its continuity, interposing a considerable space between the junction of its dislocated extremities; while the aggressor tranquilly preserves its rectilineal direction, and its unbroken body of ore; most clearly demonstrating the recentness of its own origin relatively to that of the vein which suffered from its intrusion.

Such is the theory which Werner supports in this volume, with great copiousness of illustration, and innumerable references to observations, which he has either personally made, or indefatigably accumulated, from authorities on which dependence could be placed. In asserting his doctrines, he displays no little of that confident enthusiasm which ever distinguishes the daring theorist, and omits no method to gain friends, and disarm his antagonists. In his preface, he entreats that his work may be twice carefully read before it is judged; and two very long chapters are occupied in detailing and confuting the opinions of all who have spoken of mineral veins, from Diodorus and Pliny, to Lechmann and Lasius He might safely have resigned the greater part of these theories to the oblivion from which we fear his interposition will not rescue them. For we doubt if even his prefatory supplication will induce the most devoted of his readers to wade a second time through this heavy mass. It was with joy we returned to the discussion of his own opinions; and we derived peculiar pleasure from his disquisitions on the relative antiquities of metals, the almost endless diversity of their formations, and the universal operation of those singular laws which have produced the association of some metals, and ordained others to be for ever disunited. We cannot too much admire the patient research and acute observations which have enabled him to exhibit, in so clear an arrangement, a series of facts that had formerly eluded the researches of the naturalist, from the obscurity of their situation, and the aspect of irregularity and confusion with which the attendant phænomena often perplex even an experienced eye.

Had every proposition that Werner asserts, been as irrefragably established, he might safely brave the puny hostilities of rival theorists in his own impregnable fortress; but, when unsatisfied with facts, he launches into the boundless regions of conjecture, we can no longer follow him with confidence or with safety.

In the very onset of this rash course, we find him floundering in the muddy depositions of that chaotic ocean which speculators have unwisely created for their own entanglement; by whose treacherous quicksands they are constantly betrayed; and from the dye of whose mud, not all the solutions in which they afterwards immerse the world, can effectually purify them.

But let us concede them the existence of this extraordinary menstruum, in which the elements of all substances are dissolved or suspended; and let us suppose that the operation of affinities, which Nature has long ceased to exert, enabled her to summon, from the remotest of its turbid waves, the particles necessary to form granite, gneiss, primitive limestone, or schistus, and, by successive precipitations, to place strata of the one above the other, nicely defining the line of separation, and scrupulously abstaining from contaminating them with the slightest admixture. Let them lie *stratum super stratum* in all the majesty of accumulation, still we would ask the theorist how they are to be elevated into mountains. In their original constitution they must have been horizontal; for the laws of gravitation, if the speculator considers himself bound by them, would determine their concentricity to the centre of the earth. The bottom of this ancient sea being thus level, there could be no currents to cause accumulations in particular places, and the whole stratification must have reposed tranquilly under the waters which generated it. Let us concede another step, and suppose that the operation of other undiscovered laws, assembled the jarring chaotic atoms in particular spots, traced the limits within which they might repose in peace, and, by raising some tracks to comparative elevation, left profound excavations between them; still no rock can have appeared above the surface of the ocean; and the strata deposited must still have been horizontal. The improvident speculator has contrived no reservoir to contain the superfluous waters, resting from the task of creation; that the world he has with such conjectural difficulty constructed, may be torn in every direction by the sinking down of its incoherent bulk, be cracked by the contraction of its parts in drying, and be subjected to various unknown operations and convulsions, by which its strata might be elevated from their horizontal position, till they become vertical, and mutilated at the same time, with various contortions and dislocations.

Nor even now is the tortured world to be allowed repose; for now commence its immersions in solutions impregnated with metallic salts. From what new reservoir does this scourge escape? What calls it forth teeming to saturation? What determines the moment of its parturition? and whither does it retire?

Let us grant all this to have happened once, and hope that succeeding tranquillity may reward our concession; or at least that we may proceed with the more leisurely steps of philosophic induction. But the indefatigable theorist has already prepared innumerable other solutions which are successively to immerse us. Some, richly impregnated, are to form *two* depositions; and after triumphing over the principles of chemical affinity, we may admire the moderation which does not attempt to obtain the whole *seventeen* formations of Galæna from the same solution; and thus remove, in a great measure, the embarrassment attending the regulation of the ebb and flow of a mass of fluid, adequate to covering the world.

It is needless to push this investigation farther, or attempt to analyze the wildness of opinions from which probability revolts. Theories, founded on postulates so inadmissable, and on the capricious exertion of forces so prodigious, are far from advancing the interests of true philosophy. Those hours which might be preciously employed in observing and registering the phænomena of Nature, are idly wasted in weaving the slight tissue of conjecture; and those talents, which might enlarge our knowledge by well directed experiment, are ill employed in defending or combating a fantastic hypothesis.

In our opinion, Werner has proved, to a philosophic demonstration, that veins were originally fissures, that they have been formed at very different periods, and that they have been filled by successive depositions. Had he stopped here, his doctrines might have defied all opposition; though we might still have regretted that the assistance he boasts of having afforded to practical mining, should dwindle, on examination, into little more than an exhortation to miners to make geological plans and descriptions of the districts they explore. Without being accused of fastidiousness, we may also regret that the arrangement he has adopted should be so far from being luminous, and that his style should be loaded with unnecessary repetitions. It is true, he tells us, in his preface, that although he has been employed nearly thirty years in collecting the materials of this work, and although the theory he here supports had for six years formed part of his geological lectures; circumstances, which he does not explain, had obliged him to compose and publish the whole in three months, each sheet being printed as soon as it was written. This is but a bad apology, even for defects in composition; and it is impossible that this final precipitation could influence the general arrangement of a work which had been the subject of the author's meditations for so many years.

In his preface, Werner pledges himself to publish some other portions of his lectures. Twelve years have since elapsed, and we believe his promise remains unfulfilled. It is needless for us to observe how mortifying such a suspension must prove to all those who dedicate their time to the sciences in which he is so profoundly skilled; and how eagerly they wish him to rescue his works from the mutilations and blunders with which the pirated copies of his lectures are deformed. Many an ephemeral reputation has been raised in Germany, on materials which dishonest industry has pilfered from the copious store of Werner; and our love of literary justice combines with many other motives in making us anxious to behold him resume his rights, and chase his puny competitors from the field.

We cannot close these observations, without bestowing some attention on the translator, to whose laudable industry many mineralogists are indebted for facilitating their acquaintance with this valuable treatise. Mr. Daubuisson has been already distinguished by a long account of the mines of Freyberg, and by several essays in the *Journal des Mines.* He appears to have entered Germany little skilled in the science he now so sedulously cultivates; to have listened to the German professors as to the voice of inspiration; to have scrupulously avoided all unbecoming hesitation in embracing their opinions; to have examined no phænomena but those they indicated as deserving of attention, and to have seen no specimens but those which embellished their cabinets. Like a zealous apostle he has laboured to promulgate the tenets he has received; and, the more effectually to secure himself from the danger of conviction and apostacy, he published the first edition of his translation before he left Freyberg, with such a solemn proclamation of his faith, as almost precluded a recantation. In Paris, this new edition, enriched by several notes and verbal corrections, appeared in 1802, under the eye and patronage of Werner, who was visiting the accumulated riches of that metropolis. The enthusiasm of the translator seems nothing abated, and his laborious zeal announces fresh translations. These will be a valuable addition to the general stock of information, if M. Daubuisson continues to exercise the same candour and fidelity that distinguish his present performance. It is no small effort of candour in a Frenchman to discover merit in the productions of foreign nations; and to naturalize that merit, without appropriating it, is a degree of honesty which some distinguished philosophers have not been able to attain.

As a specimen of the translator's style, and to afford the abettors of the Huttonian theory, a subject of meditation, we add the following short extract :

' Dans les *Annales de Chimie* de *Crell*, j'ai donné la description d'un gite de *wakke*, connu sous le nom de *buzzenwakke*, que l'on voit dans la galerie *Barbara* à Joachimsthal. Cette wakke appartient à la formation de trap : elle se trouve dans une roche primitive de schiste micacé et de schiste argileux. Le gite descend à un profondeur de plus de cent cinquante toises. Il renferme des arbres à demi pétrifiés, qui ont encore leur éccorce, leurs branches, leurs feuilles. Ce gite ressemble beaucoup aux silons ; et il est bien hors de doubte que ce n'est qu'une énorme fente qui s'est faite dans cette montagne primitive et élevée, et que cette, fente a été ensuite remplie de wakke par le haut. Quelle est la révolution qui peut avoir produit la fente ? Quelle est celle qui peut l'avoir remplie ?' p. 227. 228.

ART. X. *Essay on Irish Bulls.* By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and Maria Edgeworth. London. 1801.

WE hardly know what to say about this rambling, scrambling book ; but that we are quite sure the author, when he began any sentence in it, had not the smallest suspicion of what it was about to contain. We say, the author ; because, in spite of the mixture of sexes in the title-page, we are strongly inclined to suspect that the male contributions exceed the female, in a very great degree. The essay on bulls is written much with the same mind and in the same manner, as a school-boy takes a walk : He moves on for ten yards on the straight road, with surprising perseverance ; then sets out after a butterfly, looks for a bird's nest, or jumps backwards and forwards over a ditch. In the same manner, this nimble and progressive gentleman is away after every object that crosses his mind. If you leave him at the end of a comma, in a steady pursuit of his subject, you are sure to find him, before the next full stop, a hundred yards to the right or left, frisking, capering, and grinning in a high paroxysm of merriment and agility. Mr. Edgeworth seems to possess the sentiments of an accomplished gentleman, the information of a scholar, and the vivacity of a first-rate Harlequin. He is fuddled with animal spirits, giddy with constitutional joy ; in such a state he must have written on or burst. A discharge of ink was an evacuation absolutely necessary, to avoid fatal and plethoric congestion.

The object of the book is to prove, that the practice of making bulls is not more imputable to the Irish, than to any other

people; and the manner in which he sets about it, is to quote examples of bulls produced in other countries. But this is surely a singular way of reasoning the question: For there are goitres out of the Valais, extortioners who do not worship Moses, oat cakes over the Tweed, and balm beyond the precincts of Gilead. If nothing can be said to exist pre-eminently and emphatically in one country, which exists at all in another, then Frenchmen are not gay, nor Spaniards grave, nor are gentlemen of the Milesian race remarkable for a disinterested contempt of wealth in their connubial relations. It is probable there is some foundation for a character so generally diffused; though it is also probable that such foundation is extremely enlarged by fame. If there were no foundation for the common opinion, we must suppose national characters formed by chance; and that the Irish might, by accident, have been laughed at as bashful and sheepish; which is impossible. The author puzzles himself a good deal about the nature of bulls, without coming to any decision about the matter. Though the question is not a very easy one, we shall venture to say, that a bull is an apparent congruity, and real incongruity of ideas, suddenly discovered. And, if this account of bulls be just, they are (as might have been supposed) the very reverse of wit; for, as wit discovers real relations, that are not apparent; bulls admit apparent relations that are not real. The pleasure arising from wit proceeds from our surprise at suddenly discovering two things to be similar, in which we suspected no similarity. The pleasure arising from bulls proceeds from our discovering two things to be dissimilar, in which a resemblance might have been suspected. The same doctrine will apply to wit, and to bulls in action. Practical wit discovers connection or relation between actions, in which duller understandings discover none; and practical bulls originate from an *apparent* relation between two actions, which more correct understandings immediately perceive to have no relation at all.

Louis XIV. being extremely harassed by the repeated solicitations of a veteran officer for promotion, said one day, loud enough to be heard, 'That gentleman is the most troublesome officer I have in my service.' 'That is precisely the charge (said the old man) which your Majesty's enemies bring against me.'

'An English gentleman' (says Mr. Edgeworth, in a story cited from Joe Millar) 'was writing a letter in a coffee-house; and, perceiving that an Irishman stationed behind him was taking that liberty which Parmenio used with his friend Alexander; instead of putting a seal upon the lips of the *curious impertinent*, the English gentleman thought proper to reprove the Hibernian, if not with delicacy, at

least with poetical justice. He concluded writing his letter in these words: "I would say more; but a damned tall Irishman is reading over my shoulder every word I write."

"You lie, you scoundrel," said the self-convicted Hibernian. p. 29.

The pleasure derived from the first of these stories, proceeds from the discovery of the relation that subsists between the object he had in view, and the assent of the officer to an observation so unfriendly to that end. In the first rapid glance which the mind throws upon his words, he appears, by his acquiescence, to be pleading against himself. There seems to be no relation between what he says, and what he wishes to effect by speaking.

In the second story, the pleasure is directly the reverse. The lie given was *apparently* the readiest means of proving his innocence, and *really* the most effectual way of establishing his guilt. There seems for a moment to be a strong relation between the means and the object; while, in fact, no irrelation can be so complete.

What connection is there between pelting stones at monkeys, and gathering cocoa nuts from lofty trees? Apparently none. But monkeys sit upon cocoa nut trees; monkeys are imitative animals; and if you pelt a monkey with a stone; he pelts you with a cocoa nut in return. This scheme of gathering cocoa nuts is very witty, and would be more so, if it did not appear useful; for the idea of utility is always inimical to the idea of wit.* There appears, on the contrary, to be some relation between the revenge of the Irish rebels against a banker, and the means which they took to gratify it, by burning all his notes,

* It must be observed, that all the great passions, and many other feelings, extinguish the relish of wit. Thus, *lympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit*, would be witty, were it not bordering on the sublime. The resemblance between the sandal tree imparting (while it falls) its aromatic flavour to the edge of the axe, and the benevolent man rewarding evil with good, would be witty, did it not excite virtuous emotions. There are many mechanical contrivances which excite sensations very similar to wit; but the attention is absorbed by their utility. Some of Merlin's machines, which have no utility at all, are quite similar to wit. A small model of a steam engine, or a mere squirt, is wit to a child. A man speculates on the causes of the first, or on its consequences, and so loses the feelings of wit: with the latter, he is too familiar to be surprised. In short, the essence of every species of wit is surprise; which, *vi termini*, must be sudden: and the sensations which wit has a tendency to excite, are impaired or destroyed, as often as they are mingled with much thought or passion.

wherever they found them; whereas, they could not have rendered him a more essential service. In both these cases of bulls, the one verbal, the other practical, there is an apparent congruity, and a real incongruity of ideas. In both the cases of wit, there is an apparent incongruity, and a real relation.

It is clear, that a bull cannot depend upon mere incongruity alone; for, if a man were to say that he would ride to London upon a cocked hat, or that he would cut his throat with a pound of pickled Salmon, this, though completely incongruous, would not be to make bulls, but to talk nonsense. The stronger the apparent connexion, and the more complete the real disconnexion, of the ideas, the greater the surprise, and the better the bull. The less apparent, and the more complete the relations established by wit, the higher gratification does it afford. A great deal of the pleasure experienced from bulls, proceeds from the sense of superiority in ourselves. Bulls which we invent, or knew to be invented, might please, but in a less degree, for want of this additional zest.

As there must be apparent connexion, and real incongruity, it is seldom that a man of sense and education finds any form of words by which he is conscious that he might have been deceived into a bull. To conceive how the person has been deceived, he must suppose a degree of information very different from, and a species of character very heterogeneous to his own: a process, which diminishes surprise, and consequently pleasure. In the above mentioned story of the Irishman overlooking the man writing, no person of ordinary sagacity can suppose himself betrayed into such a mistake; but he can easily represent to himself a kind of character that might have been so betrayed. There are some bulls so extremely fallacious, that any man may imagine himself to have been betrayed into them; but these are rare; and, in general, it is a poor contemptible species of amusement; a delight in which, evinces a very bad taste in wit.

Whether the Irish make more bulls than their neighbours, is, as we have before remarked, not a point of much importance; but it is of considerable importance, that the character of a nation should not be degraded; and Mr Edgeworth has great merit in his very benevolent intention of doing justice to the excellent qualities of the Irish. It is not possible to read his book, without feeling a strong and a new disposition in their favour. Whether the imitation of the Irish manner be accurate in his little stories, we cannot determine; but we feel the same confidence in the accuracy of the imitation, that is often felt in the resemblance of a portrait, of which we have never seen

the original. It is no very high compliment to Mr. Edgeworth's creative powers, to say he could not have formed any thing, which was not real, so like reality; but such a remark only robs Peter to pay Paul; and gives every thing to his powers of observation, which it takes from those of his imagination. In truth, nothing can be better than his imitation of the Irish manner: It is first-rate painting.

Edgeworth & Co. have another faculty in great perfection. They are eminently masters of the *pathos*. The Firm drew tears from us in the stories of little Dominick, and of the Irish beggar who killed his sweetheart: Never was any grief more natural or simple. The first, however, ends in a very foolish way:

——formosa superne
Desinit in piscem.

We are extremely glad that our avocations did not call us from Bath to London on the day that the Bath coach conversation took place. We except from this wish the story with which the conversation terminates; for, as soon as Mr. Edgeworth enters upon a story, he excels.

We must confess we have been much more pleased with Mr. Edgeworth in his laughing and in his pathetic, than in his grave and reasoning moods. He meant, perhaps, that we should; and it certainly is not very necessary that a writer should be profound, on the subject of bulls. Whatever be the deficiencies of the book, they are, in our estimation, amply atoned for by its merits; by none more, than that lively feeling of compassion which pervades it for the distresses of the wild, kind-hearted, blundering poor of Ireland.

ART. XI. *Thoughts on the Restriction of Payments in Specie at the Banks of England and Ireland.* By Lord King. London. May 1803. pp. 100. 8vo.

THIS sensible and instructive publication, contains the substance of what was urged in Parliament, by Lord King, against the last renewal of the Bank Restriction Bills. His reasoning coincides, at least in its general outline, with that of Mr. Boyd's well known pamphlet: setting out with the strong presumptions which might have led us to expect an excessive issue of paper, and confirming that probability by a reference to the price of bullion, and the rate of foreign exchange. We must acknowledge, however, that the argument is presented by Lord King, in a more correct form, as well as with more can-

dour. And the interval of experience that has now elapsed, has furnished him with a larger body of evidence, and a variety of additional illustrations.

Though from the very first, there could be no doubt of the impolicy and injustice of the restriction; yet, at the date of Mr. Boyd's letter, the measure was too recent to warrant a confident opinion with regard to its particular influence on prices. It was, in its kind, quite novel and unexampled; and its operation was necessarily affected by many complicated circumstances. But now, it may be affirmed, that of all the political experiments which the temerity of statesmen ever hazarded, there is not another which has been more fairly tried than this, or of which the result has been ascertained with greater certainty. We have had an opportunity of observing the operation of the measure, under many varieties of situation, and where almost every circumstance has been successively varied, by which it might either have been counteracted or assisted; in war and in peace, in famine and in plenty, with a favourable and with an unfavourable balance of trade, during a languid stagnation of our manufactures, and amidst the spirit and heat of speculation. Throughout all these changes, one uniform effect may be perceived; which, with the evidence by which it is proved, and the reasonings by which it is explained, is very ably and perspicuously described by Lord King. For the information of our readers, on this most interesting subject, we shall make an abstract of his publication; because it is highly important that the public should at length entertain a correct opinion, with respect to those laws which have vitiated the currency of this country. We shall endeavour to convey the substance of his reasonings, without meaning to confine ourselves to his language, or to the precise order in which he has arranged the different steps of the argument.

It does not appear to have ever been doubted by any of the writers on political œconomy,* that an enlargement of paper currency, beyond the growing demands of trade, has exactly the same operation in raising prices, as a multiplication of the precious metals. There is this difference, indeed, between the two cases, that the one is a local effect merely, whereas, the other extends over the whole commercial world; and that the latter is produced gradually, scarcely becoming sensible, till after the lapse of a considerable period of time; whereas, the former may take place very quickly, and has actually been known to take place very quickly in more instances than one. It is evi-

* See our First Volume, p. 179.

dent, that every such rise in the money price of commodities, is, in other words, a fall in the commodity price, or exchangeable value of money. It is likewise established by experience, and before actual experience might have been inferred from the nature of the thing, that every such depreciation of the value of the circulating medium, is accompanied with much inconvenience and distress. These are the more severe, the shorter the period of time is, within which the depreciation has been effected. The value of monied capital is diminished, and the livelihood is injured, of all those persons whose income is limited to a fixed sum of money. If a considerable depreciation takes place within a short period of time, the grossest injustice likewise must unavoidably ensue, with regard to the performance of all contracts previously agreed on. It is on all these accounts of high political importance, that the circulating medium of every country should preserve a steady and uniform value; and this it can never do, unless the effective currency, which is a quantity compounded of the actual amount, and of the rate of circulation,* preserves permanently the same proportion to the demands of commerce.

Every banking company or private banker, by whom paper is issued, lies under great temptations of issuing it to excess; in the same manner as other traders are liable to overstrain their credit, or to overstock the market. Besides the direct profit which a bank derives from the circulation of its notes, they afford facilities, which the most cautious banker cannot always refuse, either to his own speculations, or those of his confidential correspondents. In point of fact, nothing can be more certain, than that these temptations often get the better of all their prudence. But while our currency remained in its natural and sound condition, the excess of paper circulation could never be carried so far as to have any general and public effect upon prices. By means of the instant convertibility into specie, the superfluous paper was very speedily returned back upon the issuer, as soon as it began to undergo the smallest degree of depreciation. But the condition of our currency, can no longer be considered as sound or natural, when the convertibility into specie is dispensed with; and after this check is removed, there is no longer any limit of the excess to which paper, while it retains the confidence of the country, may be carried. Mr. Thornton, in his excellent work, has explained in what manner the higher branches of national currency regulate and limit the rest; gold and silver all paper circulation, and the paper of the Bank of

* See our First Volume, p. 178.

England that of all the country banks*. If to the present suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England, another law were added, relieving the country banks from the obligation of converting their notes into those of the bank of England; there would no longer exist any check to the emission of country paper; and there would be no bounds to the excess in which every banker might indulge, so long as his credit and solvency were unimpaired. Even in such an extreme case, however, the country paper would not possess a more extensive license than that which the paper of the Bank of England enjoys at present; and the effectual salutary limitation to which the country paper is at present subjected, is founded exactly upon the same principle with that which formerly controlled the Bank of England, under the obligation of converting its notes into specie. From the moment that the unwise law of 1797 discharged the Bank from this most necessary obligation, nothing remained to control its discretion, or to impose any boundary to the extent of its paper circulation. The directors of this company are at all times susceptible of the same temptations, to which other traders are exposed; they have been known sometimes to yield to these, even under the checks and controls of the ancient system; and now that all these are removed, it would be in the highest degree credulous and absurd to expect that they will decline the opportunity of increasing the profits of their stock. These profits, it is well known, arise principally from the circulation of their notes.

It is from the operation of gold and silver, in confining paper within its proper bounds, that the constant and immediate convertibility of notes into specie is rendered an indispensable condition, in every sound system of currency. This is a principle in the theory of money, which has hitherto been very imperfectly understood, even by those who, in other respects, have explained it most fully. To the deficiency of all our systematic writers upon this point, we are inclined to ascribe the opposite extremes of error, which, with equal confidence and equal loudness, are maintained, respecting the present state of our circulating medium. In the provinces, among our landed proprietors, and from that description of our parliamentary representatives, we still, as of old, hear most ignorant declamations against country banks, and all paper currency. In the great commercial cities, and especially in the metropolis, opinions are gravely avowed by persons who ought to be acquainted at least with the details of the money trade, that the precious metals are al-

* See our First Volume, p. 190.

together unnecessary, even as a part of circulation; and that the provisional law of 1797 should be established as a permanent system. If the former sentiment may be classed among the expiring prejudices of the vulgar, this visionary scheme betrays no less ignorance of political œconomy, and in its practical tendency is much more pernicious. It is not, however, to be treated as a doctrine entirely new, or as for the first time suggested by the existing circumstances of this country. If authority could yield any support to so palpable an error, the sanction might be found of other names, than it will probably be able to produce in the present day. An idea of this sort runs through the Querist of Bishop Berkeley, not the least remarkable production of that acute genius; from whose fame it cannot be considered a derogation, that, among many original and valuable views upon a science then almost uncultivated, some errors are to be found, from which we are not completely guarded by all the discoveries and experience of subsequent times. He appears to have conceived*, that all circulation is alike a circulation of credit, whether metal or paper be employed as the medium; and that as coined metals were, in the progress of mankind from barbarism, substituted for barter, so, in a farther stage of improvement, a paper medium is to be substituted for coin. If the question were solely, Whether it may be stated in the abstract as at all practicable, to carry on the business of internal commerce by a medium of circulation merely conventional, neither possessing intrinsic value itself, nor immediately convertible into a commodity of intrinsic value? we should answer this question in the affirmative. The practicability is sufficiently proved, by the experiment which has been made in this country; and there existed no reason, *à priori*, to doubt its possibility. But the real and important question is a very different one: How far this practicable scheme is, by motives of expediency, and after a full view of its operation, recommended to be actually carried into practice? To this, we have no less hesitation in pronouncing a negative, upon the principle which has already been explained. A perfect system of currency must be composed both of specie and paper.

The introduction of paper money, the most refined, perhaps, of all the expedients to which the relations of society have given birth, was not only an immense step in the progress of commerce, but may be considered as having marked an epoch in the history of mankind. But the essential benefit of the invention

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* See Numbers 426. 439. 441. & 445. of the Querist, a work originally published in 1735.

does not consist, as Berkeley supposed, in forming an entire substitution for metallic currency; but, in saving a certain portion of so costly an article, and, what is of far greater consequence, in facilitating exchanges between places remote from each other, and economizing the time and the labour of large payments. Specie, however, as possessing intrinsic value, must still be considered as the ultimate element into which the currency of the country may at all times be resolved; and is the true basis upon which the fabric of paper circulation must be solidly reared. If the whole currency is merely conventional, no check operates against an excessive issue, and consequently no security exists for the permanent value of the medium of exchange. That permanency can only be secured, by making the conventional representative of value constantly and readily convertible into real value, constantly and readily convertible into gold and silver; because these preserve, more steadily than other commodities, an uniform value. Upon the principle, which we have endeavoured to explain, the excess of paper circulation would be converted into whatever commodity the paper was made convertible, provided that commodity was of intrinsic value. But it cannot be rendered convertible into some commodities with the same convenience, as into others; nor would the restraint upon excessive issue operate, in every case, with the same degree of efficacy and regularity. As the precious metals form the most convenient measure of value and medium of exchange, when the whole circulation is effected by a medium of intrinsic value; for the same reasons, they are better fitted than any other commodity to be the basis of a conventional currency, and to form that real value into which every portion of it may at all times be immediately converted. Permanency of value, from age to age, is the point of first importance in the medium of circulation. And while the currency of a nation consists, either wholly of the precious metals, or of a paper system founded on, and secured by the principle of convertibility, its value cannot be considerably depreciated, except, along with the currency of the whole commercial world, by the discovery of new mines of extreme fertility: an event so rare, as to have occurred only once within the period of historical memory, and that at the epoch when the two hemispheres of the earth were first revealed to each other.

The preceding observations are sufficient, we trust, to shew, that when a national Bank, whose notes form the chief branch of currency, is relieved from the obligation of payments in cash, the only control is then removed which limits the issue of paper to what is actually required by trade. That with such an opportunity, and such a license, no Bank will ever long resist the

temptations of high profits and extraordinary gains, there are very obvious reasons to presume; yet it is a matter of some nicety to make out, in a particular instance, a distinct proof of the fact of undue issue. It is a case of that sort which scarcely admits of direct evidence. Even when we can obtain faithful documents of the amount of notes in circulation during a series of successive periods, we are not fully entitled to consider a progressive increase of amount as conclusive, unless that increase be very great indeed: because the quantity of currency required by the trade of a country varies with the rate of circulation; that rate of circulation differs with the different kinds of currency, and in each kind is liable to be accelerated or retarded by the various fluctuations of demand and of credit. Nor does a high and growing state of prices afford any more satisfactory proof of an undue excess in the quantity of circulating medium: because the state of prices is a very complex subject, and is known to us very vaguely; and because the same increase which an excess of currency would occasion, may be produced by many other causes, such as a failure of produce or supply, or an accumulation of taxes, the operation of all which is so complicated together, that it is difficult to assign to any one its proper portion of the whole joint effect. Fortunately, however, there are two very simple and satisfactory tests, by which the fact of an excessive currency may be ascertained. The nature of these we took an opportunity of explaining in a former article of this Review*, at a time when we did not think that sufficient evidence was laid before the public to apply the inference, with conclusive certainty, to the conduct of the Bank of England.

When the circulating medium of a country has suffered a depreciation, whether it proceeds from the debasement of a metallic currency, or from the discredit, or from the excess, of a paper currency, the currency price of gold and silver bullion must rise, at the same time, with that of all other commodities. This fact is usually expressed, by saying, that the market price of bullion exceeds its mint price. When the market price of bullion comes to exceed its mint price, in consequence of a depreciation of currency, the rate of foreign exchange will suffer a nominal and apparent fall. The domestic currency has sunk in its bullion value, while foreign currencies remain unaltered; the proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of the former, to that of the latter, is changed. But though this proportion is changed, the ancient numbers, expressing it, are still adhered to by merchants. There will thus be a great difference between the computed rate of exchange, and its real rate; and whether

* Vol. I. p. 184. & p. 200.

the actual difference be in favour of, or against, the country whose currency is depreciated, the apparent rate will be always computed so much more against it, or so much less in its favour, in proportion to the degree of that depreciation. The use of these two tests, in ascertaining the fact of a depreciated currency, may be explained by several remarkable instances. Before the reformation of the silver coin in King William's time, we are informed by Dr. Smith, the exchange between England and Holland, computed according to the standard of their respective mints, was 25 *per cent.* against England; but the value of the current coin of England was, at that time, rather more than 25 *per cent.* below its standard value*. Before the reformation of our gold coin in 1772, the market price of bullion exceeded the mint price, and the rate of foreign exchange was depressed; even the exchange with France was 2 or 3 *per cent.* against England. It is understood that, at that time, the French coin, though worn, was not so degraded as the English, and was, perhaps, 2 or 3 *per cent.* nearer its standard. Very soon after the recoinage in 1772, the market price of bullion fell to the mint price, and there was a corresponding improvement in the course of exchange; the difference turned immediately in favour of England, and against France†. The issue of assignats, during the Revolution, depreciated the currency of France in a greater degree than was ever known in any other instance. In the course of little more than two years, accordingly, the exchange between London and Paris fell between 60 and 70 *per cent.* to the disadvantage of the latter place; and would probably have fallen still more, by the operation of new issues of assignats, if the war had not interrupted the commercial intercourse of the two countries‡.

It is not, indeed, from every rise in the market price of bullion above its mint price, or from every fall in the course of foreign exchange, that we are entitled to infer a depreciation of currency. A temporary excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price may be produced, without any peculiarity in the state of currency, by a failure in the supply of bullion from the mines, by a great demand for it either at home or from abroad, and, above all, by what is called an unfavourable balance of trade. The high market price, which these circumstances occasionally for a short time produce, may be farther augmented and prolonged, if the expences of foreign warfare, and the remittance of foreign subsidies, are aggravated by a fail-

* Wealth of Nations, II. 215.
† Id. I. 62. and II. 215.
‡ Lord King, p. 37.

ure of the most necessary produce. It was from this view of the subject, that, when we examined the valuable publication of Mr. Thornton, we deemed it proper to suspend our opinion, with respect to the operation of Bank of England paper upon prices, until the various causes of foreign expenditure might be considered as having completed their full effect; while, at the same time, we declared that the question would be solved to our conviction, if the excess of the market price of bullion should continue, after the balance of trade was restored in favour of this country. In the same manner, it is somewhat difficult to discriminate, whether an unfavourable course of exchange is real or only apparent. When it is only a few degrees below par, and has been observed only for a short period of time, it is scarcely possible to determine whether it is a real difference from an unfavourable balance of trade, or an apparent difference from a depreciation of our currency. But the longer the period of time is, during which even a small difference continues, the greater does the presumption always become, that it is only an apparent difference: and this presumption would be remarkably strengthened, if the difference were against a country which formerly enjoyed a favourable balance of trade, of which the manufactures and foreign commerce had suffered no diminution, but had advanced in prosperity, and which had recently adopted a change in the system of its currency, that might possibly lead to depreciation. It must farther be observed, that, how short soever the period may be during which the course of exchange is observed, if the difference from par is very great, and exceeds a certain limit, there is then every reason to believe that a certain portion at least of this difference is only apparent, and must be ascribed to a depreciation of currency. No person can imagine for a moment, that, when the exchange against Paris was almost 70 *per cent.* under par, that the whole of this immense difference, or that more than a very small portion of it, was real, and arising from the balance of trade. Nor does any one believe that the present exchange of 16 *per cent.* against Dublin, which is nearly twice as great as the usual difference, does not in part originate in a recent depreciation of the currency of Ireland. There is, indeed, a natural and necessary limit to the real difference of exchange, as occasioned by the balance of trade. This difference never can exceed, as Lord King has observed,* 'what will be sufficient to pay the expenses and profit of the merchant who exports precious metals to restore the balance.' The same thing was long ago pointed out by Sir William Petty; who informs us,

* P. 31.

that, about the year 1672, 15 *per cent.* was given for the remittance of money from Ireland into England: and the remark, which he subjoins, admits of an exact application to present circumstances:—'Although, in truth, exchange can never be naturally more than the land and water carriage of money between the two kingdoms, and the insurance of the same upon the way, *if the money be alike in both places.*'* Lord King farther states, that this expense will probably seldom exceed 8 *per cent.* from London to the continent of Europe; which may therefore be considered as the utmost limit of an unfavourable exchange, in a regular state of things.

From the foregoing observations, which we have insensibly protracted to an unexpected length, it may be concluded, in general, (and this general conclusion we may be prepared to apply to such particular instances as shall present themselves), that, where a steady excess of the market price of bullion above its mint price, and a great depression of the course of exchange, are permanent amidst the variation of all those circumstances which influence the balance of trade, the two effects must be referred to one common cause, a depreciation of currency. Without any farther proof, the inference is just and satisfactory. But if it be farther fortified by direct evidence and official documents, either of a fraudulent debasement of coin, or of an unwonted augmentation in the issue of paper, the conclusion becomes irresistible to every understanding, that does not set all evidence and demonstration at defiance.

The amount of Bank of England paper in circulation, prior to the suspension of cash payments, was, upon an average of three years ending in December 1695, 11,975,573l. For a considerable time after that measure had been resorted to, the Directors appear to have acted with caution and forbearance, as if not yet sure of their ground, and doubtful of the success of the experiment on which they were about to venture. To supply the place of the guineas that were thrown out of circulation, an additional quantity of small notes was no doubt necessary; which Mr. Thornton has probably estimated too highly, when he states the amount at two millions; because it was not found immediately necessary to issue so large an amount. Until the year 1799, however, the issue of the bank notes did not much exceed thirteen millions. But about the middle of that year, as we find from the accounts laid before Parliament, the notes in circulation amounted to 13,759,940l. and, before the end of the year, exceeded fourteen millions. In the course of the succeeding year, they were increased about a million and a half more. Our readers

* Political Survey of Ireland, p. 71.

will recollect, that Mr. Thornton endeavours to shew that the issues of the Bank did not exceed the average to which they amounted before the law of restriction. He admits, that in December 1800 they were proved to amount to 15,450,970l.; but then he observes, that the Governor of the Company stated, in the following spring, to the House of Commons, that they had drawn in about a million and a half of that sum; so that, when the two millions of small notes were also deducted, there remained a sum almost exactly equal to the average of issues before the restriction. When we examine, however, the accounts which have from time to time been laid before Parliament, we find, so far from this being a correct statement of the fact, that in spring 1801, the issue of notes amounted to 16,365,206l.; which was still farther increased, in the summer of 1802, to 16,747,300l. According to the last account presented to the House of Commons, the Bank of England Notes in circulation amounted to 16,108,560l. If we compare this sum with the above average of three years ending in December 1795, even after we add to the latter the whole two millions of which Mr. Thornton speaks, and which seems a very large allowance, the present issue from the Bank will be found to exceed that which formerly was convertible into specie by something less than one-sixth of the whole. If we consider the quick circulation which paper admits of, and the increase which an accelerated rate of circulation gives to the effective powers of currency, this addition of almost one sixth must be regarded as an immense augmentation of the mass of efficient currency.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the market price of bullion (particularly of silver bullion, which is a more certain standard than gold, because a more regular article of commerce) continued very nearly the same as its established price in our mint; sometimes rising a little above that, and sometimes falling a little below it, but speedily returning towards it from each deviation. In the summer of 1799, however, about the same time with the great increase of bank paper, a rapid and extraordiary advance took place in the market price of bullion. That of silver rose at once to 5s. 8d., almost 10 *per cent.* above the mint price. It continued to rise along with the progressive increase of notes; and in 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, it was as high as 6s. more than 16 *per cent.* and even as 6s. 1d., more than 17 *per cent.* above the mint price.

While the issue of Bank of England notes was moderate and restrained, the rate of exchange with Hamburgh continued in favour of this country, being from 3 to 5 *per cent.* above par. But in the summer of 1799, about the same time with the great in-

crease of Bank paper, a very rapid fall took place. It fell at once to 32, about 8 *per cent.* below par; and continued to fall almost regularly, though not quite so regularly as the price of bullion rose, along with the progressive increase of notes. At the commencement of 1801, when they exceeded sixteen millions, the exchange with Hamburgh was as low as 29l. 10s., almost 16 *per cent.* below par.

These facts are highly curious and important: important to our own country in the present juncture, on account of the conclusion which they enforce respecting a most important object of national policy; important to the economist of every country and age, from the new light which they throw on one of the most difficult subjects in his science. The detail of these facts may be accurately considered, in a set of excellent tables which Lord King has subjoined to his work; and which, from their construction in parallel columns, exhibit, more destinctly than we have been able to describe, the remarkable correspondence between the variations in the quantity of Bank notes, and the variations in the price of bullion and rate of exchange. During the late suspension of hostilities, the exchange was somewhat improved, though it still continued apparently unfavourable to England; and the market price of bullion fell in some degree, though it still remained considerably above the mint price. These effects must be ascribed to the beneficial influence, even of a momentary pacification, upon the commercial relations of this country; and from all former experience, it may with confidence be inferred, that, had there not been an actual depreciation of our currency, the market price of bullion would have been on a level with its mint price; and the computed exchange, instead of being against us, would have appeared, as doubtless the real balance was, greatly in our favour. It is very ingeniously observed by Lord King, with reference to the state of things at the date of his publication—

'We have, at the present time, a striking instance of an exchange with the Continent at par, and in an improving state; while the price of bullion is between 9 and 10 *per cent.* higher than the mint price. This extraordinary difference is rendered intelligible by supposing Bank notes to be depreciated, and the real balance of trade very different from the nominal, but by no other hypothesis.' p. 35.

We have already alluded to the remarkable state of the exchange between Dublin and London. While that with the Continent has been so uniformly unfavourable, as we have described it, the exchange with Dublin has been all along increasing in favour of this country. But this exception in point of fact, forms

an additional illustration and proof of the general principle. In the former regular state of things, while the obligation of converting paper into specie subsisted, the ordinary difference of exchange between London and Dublin was 8 *per cent.* against the latter. But this has undergone a material alteration, since the Bank of Ireland, as well as that of England, received a licence of issuing paper free from that obligation. If the Bank of Ireland had been more moderate in its abuse of this licence than the Bank of England, it is obvious that the currency of the former would have suffered a less depreciation than that of the latter, and there would consequently have been an apparent diminution in the difference of exchange. On the other hand, if the Bank of Ireland has been more extravagant in its abuse of that licence than the Bank of England, the currency of the former must have suffered a still greater depreciation than that of the latter, and there will consequently have been an apparent increase in the difference of exchange. Now, the actual case is, that there has been a very great increase in the difference of exchange; and, agreeably to that correspondence which the preceding reasonings entitle us to expect, the issue of notes from the Bank of Ireland has been greatly more enlarged than that of the Bank of England. For the detection of this fact, and of most reprehensible conduct on the part of the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, the public is indebted to the intelligence and activity of Lord King; upon whose motion, in the month of February last, the following document, which we insert entire, was laid before Parliament.

'Account of the Amount of Bank of Ireland Notes in circulation at different Periods (including Bills under 5l.) presented to the House of Lords, pursuant to an order dated February 1803.

1797.	£	1802.	£
January 1. -	621,917	June 1. -	2,678,980
April 1. -	737,268	August 1. -	2,628-958
June 1. -	808,612	October 1. -	2,528,951
September 1. -	959,999	December 1. -	2,530,867
1801.		1803.	
April 1. -	2,266,471	February 1. -	2,633,864
May 1. -	2,405,214		
June 1. -	2,350,012		

(p. 106.)

In the space of six years, it is thus proved, the paper currency of the Bank of Ireland has been augmented from 621, 917l. to 2,633,864l.; and its notes at present in circulation exceed, more than four times, the amount of what were in circulation when the act of restriction was passed. During the same period,

the price of silver in Dublin has experienced a great advance, having varied from 6s 6d. to 7s. Irish currency; an increase which, estimating the mint price at 5s. 7d. is from 14 to 20 *per cent.* The rate of exchange between Dublin and London has been also remarkably affected; the difference having progressively increased from $8\frac{2}{3}$, the ordinary difference, to 10, 12, 14, and even 16, to which it has risen since the publication of the present work. This proof, of the depreciation of Bank of Ireland notes, has not been confined to the course of exchange with London; but is felt in the transactions of Dublin with many of the provincial towns, where those notes have not acquired a general circulation, the currency still consisting either of specie or of country notes. In consequence of this, and of the depreciated condition of the Dublin currency, there is an actual difference of exchange between Dublin and those towns. In Belfast, for instance, this is the case; and when a payment is there made in Bank of Ireland notes, an additional sum is paid proportional to the discount. To these statements of Lord King, we may add a fact exactly of the same nature, which has recently come to our knowledge—that when there is a money transaction betwixt this country and those parts of the north of Ireland, where the notes of the National Bank are not in general circulation, the difference of exchange instead of being computed at 15 or 16 *per cent*, as against Dublin, does not exceed 8 *per cent*, which was the ordinary exchange with Dublin, before the measure of restriction was resorted to. It is impossible, (our author observes,) under such circumstances, to acquit the Directors of the Bank of Ireland of the charge of gross misconduct, even upon the ground of supposed ignorance and inexperience. An important trust, which, upon mistaken principles of political necessity, was committed to this corporate body by Parliament, for the public benefit, appears to have been perverted to the private interest of the proprietors of their stock.' —p. 53. The remedy which Lord King has proposed, for the cure of these disorders, appears extremely simple, and founded on the justest principles of political economy. While the Bank of England continues to enjoy the restriction, that of Ireland cannot, with any propriety or justice, be directed to resume the ancient system of payments in specie. But, as a temporary expedient, an obligation upon the Bank of Ireland to pay upon demand, in notes of the Bank of England, would unquestionably impose upon the Irish Directors the necessity of restraining the issue of their paper, and of reducing it at least to the standard of English currency.

From the preceding mass of evidence, so harmoniously consistent with all the deductions of general principle, our readers, we

trust, are prepared with us to pronounce, that the fact, of a depreciation of our currency originating in excess, is completely established. To our mind, at least, the reasonings and statements of Lord King appear now quite decisive. We mean, decisive as to the actual consequences of the measure of 1797, and its pernicious influence upon the system of circulation. For of the impolicy of that measure, we never for a moment entertained a doubt. To have apprized the public of that, it was quite sufficient, that the most intelligent and best informed persons owned themselves unable at the time to descry its probable effects—and that it was in itself a violent interference of the Legislature, forcing the arrangements of commerce out of their accustomed and natural course. Nothing can be more judicious than the concluding observations of Lord King:

'A due regard to *general rules*, and especially to the great rules of property, forms a most important part of the duty of a legislator. They are the foundations of all private and political security; and the only means by which great principles can be effectually protected against rash speculation and hasty and inconsiderate judgments. A strict adherence to these rules, and a deep sense of their value and importance, is the great characteristic which distinguishes civilized nations, and which marks the progress of political knowledge and improvement. It has in general, distinguished the legislative proceedings of our own country, and may be justly regarded as one of the principal causes of our national prosperity and greatness. Yet a more extraordinary deviation from all general rules has never occurred, than in that change in the system of our paper currency, which commenced in the Act of Suspension of 1797, and is still continued. A law to suspend the performance of contracts has been suffered to remain in force upwards of six years. A power has been committed to the Directors of the Bank, which is not entrusted by the constitution even to the Executive Government; a power of regulating, in a certain degree, the standard of the currency of the kingdom, and of varying this standard at their pleasure. A precedent has been established, by which, upon any suggestion of temporary expediency, the whole personal property and monied interests of the country may be committed to the discretion of a commercial Body not responsible to the Legislature, and not known to the Constitution.

'This extraordinary measure, which originated in embarrassment and temporary difficulties, has been suffered to continue from mere inadvertence. Neither the public nor the Legislature appear to have considered to what consequences such proceedings ultimately tend. Had Parliament been called upon to authorise any of those direct frauds upon the currency which have often disgraced arbitrary governments; had it been recommended to them to raise the denomination, or to diminish the value of the current coin, there can be no doubt that such a proposal would have been rejected with indignation. Yet an abuse of the same

nature has been established by law in this country. The power of reducing the value of the currency, by a silent and gradual depreciation, is more dangerous, from the very circumstance of its being less direct and less exposed to observation.

'The true interests of Government and the People are not really at variance. No advantage can possibly be obtained by the former, under any emergency, from any change in the system of currency by which the Public is injured. After the first momentary relief, Government, so far from deriving any benefit from such violations of established rules, is obliged, like other consumers, to increase its expences, to multiply its loans and taxes, and to adapt its revenue to the enhanced price of labour and commodities. But this is only a small part of the evils that have uniformly been experienced by those nations which have had frequent recourse to such expedients. The abuse increases in strength, and a return to the former system is rendered more difficult by delay; public credit suffers; the revenue and resources fail; and what was at first a mere temporary accommodation, becomes finally a permanent cause of national weakness and decay. The case which is here supposed is extreme; but every instance of a discretionary power, by which the currency may be depreciated, has this tendency, and may ultimately produce these effects.' pp. 83-86.

We have purposely abstained from interrupting the deduction of the principal argument, by an allusion to any collateral views or incidental topics, in which we feel ourselves disposed to differ from the author, or to criticise his mode of statement. It is proper that we should now explain very briefly the few objections which have occurred to us.

He has not, perhaps, adhered with exact precision to the distinction, of which, in the abstract, he seems aware, between the two sorts of depreciation; the one originating from excess, the other from discredit: For he appears to apprehend, that the excess alone of Bank of England notes might at length produce a discount between them and gold coin; (p. 37. & p. 81.) This seems inaccurate. It must be recollected, that paper cannot become permanently excessive, until gold and silver coin have been in a great measure thrown out of the channel of circulation. Every superfluous issue is, for some time, counteracted, in its influence on prices, by a displacement and exportation of an equivalent portion of precious coin: And when these are at length so much thrown out of circulation, that the fresh emissions of paper produce an uncorrected influence upon prices, the currency must then be considered, with regard to every sensible effect, as consisting entirely of paper. What remains of precious coin, forms, comparatively, no part of the circulating medium. Now, it is only between two different kinds of currency, bearing a sensible proportion to each other, that a discount can be established:

a discount between the two different currencies of one place, being exactly the same thing as the course of exchange between the currencies of two different places. When a discount is established between the two currencies of one and the same place, it must proceed from a discredit or want of confidence in one of them—in consequence of which, two money-prices are recognized for all commodities, and the precious coins remain still in the channel of circulation, notwithstanding continued emissions of paper. We have little doubt that the discount at Dublin originated in this manner.

In the course of this author's liberal remarks on country Banks, he gives an opinion in favour of that law which formerly prohibited the issue of notes under the value of five pounds. We are rather inclined to doubt the policy on which this prohibition was founded. The authority of Dr. Smith indeed is with Lord King; but the principle of commercial freedom has such firm hold of our conviction, that to warrant any exception from it, we should require much stronger reasons than are furnished upon this point by either of these writers.

Lord King has stated, rather too absolutely perhaps, (p. 15 & p. 23), that the circulating medium of a nation bears no proportion to its wealth and trade. It is quite true that the number of exchanges bears no *ratio* to the mere quantity or amount of circulating medium; because the quantity required varies, as we have often observed, with the rate or velocity of circulation — But the amount of circulating medium, and the rate of circulation, may be taken together, and considered as forming a complex quantity; and then there can be no doubt that this complex quantity bears a *ratio* to the number and value of exchanges. This *ratio*, it is evident, may be fixed and constant, though the two component parts of that complex quantity are perpetually varying; because, while trade continues the same, they must vary inversely, as each other. Nor does it affect the truth of this proposition, as thus stated abstractedly, that the present resources of political arithmetic do not yet enable us to assign the *ratio*.

Lord King has endeavoured to strengthen that part of his argument, which is founded on the unfavourable state of foreign exchange, by a theory which, as far as we know, is quite new; that, in the present commercial relations of Great-Britain, the real course of exchange with the Continent must necessarily and permanently be in our favour. The great trade with the East Indies and China is carried on almost entirely by an exportation of silver to Asia, and this trade is possessed almost exclusively by Great Britain. We must therefore draw from the rest of the western world, that supply of this precious metal which is annually consigned to the east. Our direct commerce with Spain

and Portugal is inadequate to this purpose: we must derive the supply, therefore, from the several nations of the Continent, among whom the annual produce of the mines is distributed from Portugal and Spain. This bullion we can only purchase by an exportation either of produce or manufactured goods; our exports of these, to those nations, must therefore constantly exceed our import of goods and produce from the same nations. The balance of trade with the continent is thus, it is said, necessarily and permanently in our favour; and of course, likewise, the difference of exchange. The plausibility of this theory at first caught our assent; but, on farther consideration, we were led to suspect that it involves a fallacy. It does not follow, because our imports always consist partly of bullion, that the balance of trade is therefore permanently in our favour. Bullion is a commodity for which, like every other, there is a varying demand; and which, exactly like any other, may enter the catalogue either of imports or exports: and this exportation or importation of bullion will not effect the course of exchange in a different way from the exportation or importation of other commodities. The real course of exchange, between two countries, depends upon the state of their reciprocal credits and debits. When the real difference is in favour of this country, it must be occasioned by the demand abroad for bills being greater than the supply; and that difference is no other than the premium which is paid for bills, in consequence of the competition. This excess in the demand abroad above the supply of such bills, proceeds from an excess of the debts due to us, above the debts due by us; that is, from an excess of our whole exports, above our whole imports. The balance thus due to us, and which cannot be liquidated by means of bills, may either be discharged by sending bullion to this country, or may be allowed to remain for a time unpaid. So long as it remains a permanent debt, the price of bills will continue high, that is, the course of exchange will continue in our favour. If the balance be discharged by an actual transference of bullion, the supply of bills abroad will then become equal to the demand, and exchange will be at par. But even when it has the effect of liquidating such a balance, bullion is only sent to this country, because there is an effectual demand for it, which allows the importation; and it liquidates that balance in no other way than an equal import of any other commodity, for which there had been a demand, would have done. The state of exchange, therefore, does not depend upon the bullion trade, more than upon that of any other commodity; it depends entirely on the balance of debts. Provided the whole exports are no more than equal, during a given period of time, to

the whole imports, the exchange will be at par, although a great part, the greater part, or even the whole of those imports, may have consisted of bullion. Let it be supposed, for example, that the commerce between Britain and Portugal had consisted wholly of woollen cloths exported from Britain, and of nothing but bullion directly imported from Portugal, provided the whole quantity of woollen cloth exported was no more than equal in value, annually, to the whole quantity of bullion imported, and that the reciprocal purchases were made upon the same terms, in respect of the length of credit, the real exchange would have remained steadily at par, though we imported nothing but bullion; and if, on the other hand, our import of bullion had exceeded our export of woollen cloth, or if the Portuguese merchant had granted a more indulgent credit than he received from Britain, the course of exchange would then have been permanently against this country, although we imported nothing but bullion. That there is a steady influx of bullion into this country, both for our own consumption, and for the supply of our Asiatic trade; and that the course of exchange, until the year 1799, was steadily in favour of this country with almost the whole of the Continent; are facts which appear to us quite unconnected with each other. That favourable difference of exchange ought, perhaps, to be considered as having been partly apparent and partly real. The portion of it which was only apparent, was owing to the excellent state of our currency (for the gold coin regulated the rest), compared with the currencies of the Continent, most of which were much more degraded below their respective standards. That portion which was a real difference of exchange in our favour, and which therefore indicated a balance of debts in our favour, was owing to that credit which the merchants of England are enabled, by their great capitals and skill, to extend to the traders of almost all foreign countries. This appears to us a more correct explanation of the fact, than that which is suggested by Lord King For the purposes, however, of his general argument, the fact alone is enough, that, in the present commercial relations of Britain, the real difference of exchange is almost permanently in our favour. This corroborates all the other arguments which have been adduced to shew, that nothing but a derangement and depreciation of our currency can explain the appearance, continued since 1799, of an exchange against us.

We cannot permit ourselves to dismiss this work, without expressing our approbation, both of the style, and of the temper, in which it is written. So great perspicuity is not often attained, upon a subject in its nature intricate and abstruse; but it is still more rare, upon a subject connected with the topics of political

difference, to preserve such entire candour. The calmness with which the argument is pursued, and the clearness with which it is stated, might render this pamphlet a model for similar publications. In almost all the general principles, that are collaterally introduced for the sake of illustration, the author is liberal and accurate; nor was an apology for these digressions in the smallest degree necessary. On the contrary, we have always thought, that such writers as undertake to inform the public mind upon measures of temporary interest, render themselves doubly and eminently useful, when they seize every opportunity of expounding those more extensive truths, which, though in possession of the learned, are not yet insinuated into popular conviction. It is by innumerable repetitions of this sort, that an impression may at length be made, even on vulgar understandings, in favour of an enlightened policy; and the assent of the multitude habituated to the results of that genuine philosophy, whose high aim is to emancipate mankind from practical error, and to ameliorate their political condition.

ART. XII. *The Defence of Order.* A Poem. By Josiah Walker. A. M. pp. 176. Third Edit. Edinburgh. Manners & Miller. 1803.

IT is impossible to bestow too much praise upon the laudable motives which appear to have dictated this publication. The principles which pervade the whole composition, whether upon subjects of a political, of a moral, or a religious cast, seem to us altogether unexceptionable. The poet's mind has evidently been deeply affected by the sufferings of all Europe, since the fatal reign of anarchy began; and, in the fullness of his emotions, he has poured out three *cantos*, or, as he calls them (after the modish phrase), *parts*, expressive of his honest indignation at the crimes of the French Revolution, his zeal for the cause of regular government, and his gratitude to those illustrious men, who have stood in the breach, and devoted themselves to the noble task of stemming the destructive torrent. In all the feelings which have influenced his mind, we trust every one is now prepared to sympathize; at least, we are happy in thinking, that the latest of the events which this age has been doomed to experience, brings one blessing along with it—the inestimable good of unanimity and patriotism. The Defence of Order, then, will be read under circumstances peculiarly favourable. Whatever portion of its plan is didactic, must necessarily be undisputed. The poet sings to a willing and believing generation. He belongs to a party, in which

all his British readers are comprehended; and if truth and accuracy of principle alone were required in a poetical composition, the lays of Mr. Walker might set all criticism at defiance.

But, unfortunately, we speak it with unfeigned regret, the bulk of readers are so devoid of true taste, as to seek for something else than mere truth in poetry. They are even so callous in their feelings of moral rectitude, that they refuse to balance the inestimable jewel of truth against the various poetical faults which the best of men will often commit when they deliver themselves in verse. Nay, so depraved are the appetites of those who make pretensions to taste in works of fancy, that they are generally found to undervalue the most innocent and virtuous sentiments, merely because they may happen to be delivered in flat or ungrammatical, or (what such critics are pleased to call) unpoetical language. The friend of virtue hath, from this cause, great reason to lament the reception which his favourite topics often meet with; and to deplore the wicked infatuation of mankind, who, from the days of the worthy Sir Richard Blackmore down to the present time, have persisted in slighting the most wholesome doctrine, if not communicated in a striking, or a pleasing form.

We are seriously concerned to think, that not even the great popularity of the subject upon which this poem is written; nor the undoubted justness of the points of doctrine on which it touches; nor the happy union of private with public eulogium, by which it is pervaded; nor the equally fortunate combination of beautiful paper, with exquisite typography, in which it so eminently excels almost all the other productions of the Scottish press, will obtain for it, on the part of the readers to whom we have been alluding, a short suspension of the prevailing rules of taste. We are much afraid, that men, calling themselves judges of poetry, will examine the strains of the 'Muse of Order,' as our bard ingeniously denominates her, with all that cold and unsparing severity, which a good mind would wish to see reserved for the punishment of immoral and seditious poesy. But, lest our readers should think us too desponding upon this subject, we must disclose to them the grounds of our dread; and, as fear is apt to magnify danger, we shall quote at length the passages of this praiseworthy and estimable performance, upon which our apprehensions for its fame are principally founded; premising, at the same time that it would be endless to think of enumerating all these, as they occupy, in fact, nearly the whole of the worthy author's pages.

In the first place, the readers of poetry rarely possess such reasoning heads, as may enable them to unravel very intricate periods, and come easily at the meaning of perplexed, elliptical, and inverted chains of verse. Hence, they are apt,

somewhat rashly to conceive a prejudice against such passages as the following; and to imagine, superficially enough, that there is no meaning, or, at least, no sense worth seeking for, when a little more trouble than usual is required to discover it.

'Thus, to the savage, though mature in age,
When reason bends to passion's brutal rage,
Benign restraints from situation flow,
And give the guarded intellect to grow,
Soon taught, how wretched they, who singly prowl
Through jungles wild, where ravening rivals howl,
Rude plans of polity the elders build,
And freedom's bane, for ordered union, yield.

'Yet there, when sovereigns slack their moody sway,
Or restless subjects, but by starts obey,' &c. p. 21.

'Even when your tyrants, fiercer than before,
Grind you, till nature can endure no more,
When (direful hour! denied th' award of Heaven,
Till sorrow long be felt, and oft forgiven)
When forced to prove rebellion's dubious fate,
And pour its poisoned vial on the state,
Yet, yet be calm—specific faults repair,
And stop—the fabric's reverend pillars spare,
Spare ancient forms, your heated hosts to awe,
To bridle ruin, and restore the law;
Spare one great floodgate, at command to drop,
And, when its end is gain'd, the deluge stop;
Else will its sweeping force uptear the realm,
And you, who broke its sluices, first o'erwhelm.' pp. 25-26.

'So for Carew, Ierne's outcast son,
Unfading wreaths unfinished daring won;
Who o'er the cave of death sublimely stood,
Decoyed his doom, the dire explosion wooed,
And drained the goblet, with triumphant eye,
"To all who gloriously in battle die!" pp. 114-115.

'Mated with thee, for mutual succour paired,
In all thy deeds his manly genius shared,
Thy help invoked, to plant the Indian gem,
With rooted hold, in Albion's diadem;
And lent thy daring hand requiting aid
(Though storms without and rage within forbade)
Closer to draw the loose and ravelled zone,
That bound Ierne to her parent throne;
To round, renew, cement the sundered realm,
And move the whole by one presiding helm.' p. 84.

Now, we are far from dissembling, that these, and innumerable other passages which might be quoted, are conceived in a considerable degree of obscurity, and even of confusion. But we can with truth assert, that, after some labour, we have generally succeeded in getting an idea of the author's meaning. A perfect solution of difficulties, indeed is not always to be expected. But if our vanity or partiality does not much deceive us, we have in most of these instances, obtained a tolerable approximation. And where we have failed, we hope, at some future period, to be more fortunate; especially if the poet shall follow an advice, which we humbly offer, and add a marginal interpretation, after the manner of the commentators on the classics. If, then, the reader, shall be able to discover the meaning of the author, what more would he require? How many commentators have been labouring upon famous authors, ever since the revival of letters, without doing so much?

We shall, in the next place, be told, that with the best intentions towards his subject, our author very frequently involves it in ridicule, by some unhappy oversight, or perhaps by some natural defect in that organ by which men discriminate between the sublime and the ludicrous. And truly, such portions of verse as the following, may appear to give a certain colour to the insinuation, that Mr. Walker, like the respectable Blackmore, the pious Hopkins, and many other excellent characters, is somewhat too intemperate in his use of the bathos. Describing the principles which rouse a mighty people to vengeance, he says.

> 'Minds thus prepared, against abuse will rise,
> When Nature urges—not when knaves advise;
> Feel for themselves, nor meddling *flappers* need,
> To prove their pain, and tell them where they bleed.' p. 70.

The following picture of a great famine is original, and, we will maintain it, very affecting:

> 'Sad was the scene! believe the Muse, who saw
> The rugged rustic from his cot withdraw,
> The bootless tears from those within to hide,
> Which aching fondness wrung from manly pride;
> Their dreadful cause reluctant to reveal,
> That leagues around contain no second meal!' p. 72.

The noble person to whom the poem is dedicated, with a liberality rarely to be met with, purchased bread-corn at an advanced price in Leadenhall market, during the scarcity, and sent it down by sea, to relieve the poor of the parish. It may perhaps be alleged by hypercritics, who have studied the pe-

dantic writings of Scriblerus, that the following highly wrought passage describes the foregoing fact too minutely.

'To rich Augusta's granaries he flies;
No wary doubts, no balanc'd scruples rise:
'Unlock your stores,' he calls, 'your ships prepare,
'And instant succour to my people bear!
'Pause not—nor urge the cost—though tripled thrice,
'I pledge my name and fortune for the price.
'Wealth I but feel a trust, till it provide
'Relief for want, in scenes where I preside.'
The mandate thus repeated, grainy stores
Are soon diffused through Tay's exhausted shores.' p. 73.

The next examples which we take, present moving portraits, the one of *Memory*, the other of *Magnetism*; or, as the author intends it, of the effects of French principles.

'Her backward tube let memory still apply,
Through travelled spaces to direct my eye.' p. 52.

'Felt ye magnetic spells your frame bewitch,
Your features model, and your fibres twitch,
Force you to writhe, in sympathetic throes,
Racked with your prototype's well imaged woes;
And, face to face, in wild convulsive dance,
Reflect each furious attitude of France?' pp. 67-8.

The following description of Colonel Graham eating his horse, will, we much fear, be less relished than it deserves. p. 129.

'From scene to scene his active valour hastes,
Where danger thickens, and where famine wastes;
Self-doomed, in Mincio's leaguered towers, to feed
On stinted portions of his butchered steed.' p. 129.

And this fine distich on French alliances will foolishly be thought deficient in dignity.

'Brigaded thieves, incendiaries, and spies,
With matchless impudence, self-named allies.' p. 85.

Nay, we are afraid there are critics who will be more sensible of the vulgarity than the force of the following appeal.

'*Yourselves be judge*, who best our weal promotes:
He gave us *victuals*—they would give us *votes*.' p. 75.

In all these, and a multitude of other passages, we must take the liberty of asserting, without fear of being contradicted, that the intentions of the author were pure, that he firmly believed he was treating his subject with the sublimity it merited, and

that he now enjoys (the best possible proof of his innocence) the delightful satisfaction which consciousness of right can alone bestow. It will further be alleged, that by the constant use of certain unhappy words, a tendency to laughter is excited by Mr. Walker, in those parts of his poetry where gravity would, on the whole, have been more becoming. And to speak candidly, we must admit, that in this remark there is some truth: Nay, we will even allow, that the words alluded to are rather too often thrown into the ends of the verses, which may render their unlucky operation on the gravity of the reader more certain. But we must remark, that this error also is venial, because it is unintentional. And besides, if readers will laugh in the middle of a serious subject, whose fault is it? Who does not see novelty, force, and ingenuity, in such expressions as the following? *Displode*, p. 33.; *foresnatch*, 61.; *unprison*, 28.; *unbloody day*, 30.; *discommend*, 71.; *Arch-anarch*, 85.; *refixed*, 87.; *blood-boltered*, 101.; *blood-baked sands*, 119.; *leaguered towers*, 129.; *thrid the centre*, ibid. But chiefly in the following compound epithet:

'From every point, each *Arab-awing* post,' &c. p. 140.

We must observe, once for all, that a constant struggle with language is the true criterion of vast poetical genius. The grand object of this contest, is to extend our empire over unruly words, to force them into services for which they shew a natural repugnance, to torture them until they are rendered fit for their new tasks, or sometimes to neglect this, and disregard all their stubborn unfitness. Besides the instances already given of our author's unusual success in this struggle, we may add his various achievements in the rhyming way, as, for instance, pp. 22, 125, 136.

'Improving states require, with each ascent,
Still less and less coercion's harsh restraint.'

'Oh! then would Power its measured sway relax,
As men in wisdom, and in virtue wax.'

'Where can thy worth, thy polished prowess claim,
A timelier eulogy, accomplished Graham?'

'Light up a circle of nocturnal fire,
And nigher yet the curve contracts, and nigher.'

If all that we have stated in favour of our author's phraseology, be insufficient to work out his defence, we must desire captious men to remember how many liberties with language the greatest poets have used. Even some of the words and rhymes above quoted, may be found, we believe, in Shakespeare and Milton: And if they used such licences, why may not Mr.

Walker? Surely it will not be denied that he has as much need as they, to work up his ideas, and give spirit to his verse. Nay, has he ever once taken such liberties as Virgil did with his verses, leaving some half lengths, others kit cat, and others three quarters? And by how many alliterations and antitheses does he charm and surprise us, allowing for peculiarities of grammatical and rythmical taste, even to such as may on these matters differ from him and us.

The last accusation which we are able to anticipate, is of a different nature from the foregoing, though we think it will be found equally insignificant in the eyes of good and impartial men. It may be said that our author has given up too great a portion of his invaluable verse to the celebration of certain obscure personages, chiefly remarkable for their situation in his immediate neighbourhood, and has thereby interfered with the province of the preacher and life-writer. But let it be remembered, that Mr. Walker knew, while he wrote, that he was dealing out immortality: And (as he is but a man, with all his genius), he could not be expected to forego the gratification of including his best friends in the range of his bounty. Besides, he could not avoid knowing that this was the only chance which these worthy persons had of deathless renown; and it would have been highly unneighbourlike to have neglected them.—Here again, then, our author stands excused, by the purity of his motives.

The style of Mr. Walker, in celebrating truly illustrious characters, must be allowed by all to savour of the very highest relish of the epic. Among these, the '*Angel of Gallia*' holds a distinguished place, and delivers a long speech, in a dream. Her eloquence is of the most splendid kind: She describes Desolation looking from a turret—'begirt with screaming owls and croaking rooks.' The following portion of the angel's harangue is strikingly didactic through the first five lines, when suddenly a touch of the true sublime is given in one line, after which the remainder of the discourse is didactic.

> 'Mute, through the ports, that skirt my wide domains,
> For trade's loud buzz, a lonely languor reigns.
> Unseemly herbage clothes the untrodden pier;
> The bason choked, the store house mouldering near:
> The slumbering merchant o'er his desk reclines,
> And round her grave, the ghost of Commerce pines.
> Where are my fleets?' &c. p. 28.

Next to this angel, the most distinguished personages are British seamen. They are all immortalized in detail, each by a

separate simile. Lord Nelson is a small diamond or sparkling cross; Lord St. Vincent is likened to a bird tearing out a bull's eyes; Lieutenant Price, to a bomb shell (he belonging probably to the artillery); Lord Cochrane to a sword fish stabbing a whale; and Lord Duncan to Leonidas. Who does not perceive the beauty and justness of all these comparisons? For our parts, we are inclined, as we must give an opinion, to prefer the last, for the striking accuracy of the resemblance; well knowing that Leonidas, the celebrated Greek admiral, fought an equal force of Persians, gained a complete victory, and returned in triumph to his grateful countrymen, who immediately gave him a pension and a peerage.

Upon the whole, therefore, we are of opinion, that our favourite poem may challenge the attacks of criticism, whether we view the accuracy of the principles which it is intended to inculcate, or the innocence of the views with which the author has executed the detail of his work. But knowing, as we do, how little such rare qualities weigh in the scale of public opinion in these degenerate times, we must recommend it to Mr. Walker to make up his mind for the worst. Let him consider the emptiness of rhyming, either to individual edification, or to the public weal; and how far inferior poetic fame is to the praise of worth. What though Horace has pronounced a sentence against mediocrity? Does that prevent this very line of mediocrity from being the path most constantly pursued, and by the greatest crowds? Our author will meet, in spite of Horace, with the most respectable part of the poetical community in the middle regions. These, in fact, are the parts generally frequented by royal and noble, and holy and wealthy, and fair authors; and with their society, he may be well consoled for the want of the '*white fillet*' which forms the only badge that we remember to distinguish the other order of bards, the '*Phœbo digna locuti*.

ART. XIII. *A Description of the Anatomy of the Ornithorynchus Paradoxus.* By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions for 1802.

THE first description of this animal was given by Dr. Shaw, in the Naturalist's Miscellany; but, at that time, he could not decidedly pronounce it to be a natural production. Its singular appearance struck him so forcibly, that he almost instantly suspected a trick; and was led to think on the various artifices that have often been practised, to impose on the ignorance and credu-

lity of naturalists. He acknowledges frankly, in his natural history, that the beak of a duck, so curiously ingrafted on the head of a quadruped, was so very unlike the other animal productions of nature, that he could not help viewing the whole with a degree of scepticism; and that he published his account in the miscellany with a sort of diffidence, and under some private suspicions that it was possibly a fabrication of art. His doubts, however, are now dispelled. Several specimens have been brought to Europe. And this very extraordinary animal is actually a native of Austral Asia, or New Holland.

In that country, and in no other, has it yet been seen in the living state. It frequents the banks of small fresh-water lakes, and is supposed to feed in the muddy places that surround them; although the particular kind of food on which it subsists be not known. When it goes into the lake, it does not swim upon the surface, but merely comes up occasionally to breathe, which it does in the same manner as the turtle. When brought ashore, it runs upon the ground with as much activity as a land tortoise, and, like most of the amphibia, appears very tenacious of life.

The specimens brought to Europe were of different sizes. Those sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and dissected by Mr. Home, were much larger than that formerly described by Dr. Shaw. Of Sir Joseph's specimens, the male was 17½ inches long, measuring from the point of the bill to the extremity of the tail. Of this measurement, the bill was 2½ inches, and the tail 4½: The circumference of the body was 11 inches.

In all, the head was rather compressed; had a bill and nostrils like a duck's, very small eyes, and oblong slits for external ears. The trunk resembled that of an otter, and was nearly of the same thickness throughout, except at the shoulders, where it was smaller. The feet were short and webbed; and had each five toes, pointed with claws. In the fore feet, the web extended beyond the claws, and, in the hind feet, terminated at their origin. The tail, in its general shape, was similar to that of a beaver; and at its extremity, in Dr. Shaw's figure (for Mr. Home has given us none) it appears bifid.

The colour on the back, legs, bill, and tail, was a dark brown; on the under surface of the neck and belly, a silver grey. The hair was of two kinds; a very fine thick fur of half an inch long, and a very uncommon kind of hair, three quarters of an inch long, cylindrical at the root, and flattened at the point, so as to have the appearance of feathers. Both of these kinds were longer on the belly than upon the back.

We have given the above general description, partly taken from Dr. Shaw's Natural history, and partly from Mr. Home's paper,

in order that our readers may have some idea of the nature and habits of the animal, before they enter with Mr. Home upon an investigation of its structure.

In this investigation, Mr. Home seems to have noted down every circumstance as it occurred; and has presented them to the public very nearly in that order. He divides his description into two parts; that of the external, and that of the internal appearances: a division which admits of that loose, rambling detail, which is very easy for the writer to give, but very difficult for the reader to comprehend. In this account, the connexions of the parts, by form, structure, and function, are frequently overlooked; and that of place, or mere situation, substituted for them.

Doubtless the mind, by that arbitrary power of association which it possesses to a certain extent, may connect the circumstances which fall under its examination, by the time in which they happen, by the place which they occupy, by similarity or contrariety with respect to use, cause, or effect, &c. But the results of these different associations, it must be allowed, are calculated to produce very different impressions. One association is suited to one subject, and another to another; and, comparing the associations formed by others with those already in our own minds, we are naturally led to pass sentence on a man's knowledge, penetration, wit, judgment, &c.

The chain of connexion which Mr. Home appears to have followed in this instance, might be excusable in a common-place book, but can hardly be admitted in a book of science. It must surely have proceeded from want of time, or a want of inclination to bestow that attention which is necessary in forming a clear and distinct arrangement. No person, we are fully persuaded, who is in the least acquainted with his character, will ever be disposed to suspect his abilities as either a naturalist or an anatomist; yet, for his own sake, in addressing the public, he should have avoided whatever appeared like slovenliness or carelessness in his description; and shewn, that, besides manual dexterity in the way of dissection, he possesses the talents and the education which fit him for an author.

But as censure is not criticism, nor dictatorial arrogance any proof of superior discernment; and as the candid may expect, that, after disapproving of his method, we should propose one of our own, we are willing to comply, and would recommend, in all such anatomical descriptions, something like the arrangements adopted in books of anatomy, where the bones, muscles, blood-vessels, nerves, &c. are treated separately, and where the intel-

ligent scientific reader may discover at once what is superfluous, and what is defective.

An arrangement of the organs, either according to structure or function, gives much clearer ideas to the reader, is more useful to the student of anatomy, and, at the same time, is better adapted to the purposes of the naturalist and physiologist. This indeed is far from being the order of dissection; but dissection furnishes only the materials for a description. We convey no idea of mechanism, by simply enumerating the different materials of which a clock or watch is composed: and every person might acquire the reputation of an historian, were the loose unconnected materials of a note-book allowed to constitute a history.

For the sake of our readers who may wish to know what Mr. Home has said of the anatomy of the Ornithorynchus paradoxus, we shall here exhibit the substance of his notes, in what we think a more connected and intelligible form.

The Osseous System.—The upper part of the head was flat, and the cranium capacious, with an osseous septum instead of the falx of the dura mater. Such an osseous septum, in a less degree, is found also in the craniums of the spoonbill and parrot; but in no quadruped, that Mr. Home knows, excepting the Ornithorynchus paradoxus.

The ribs were sixteen in number, and the first six united to the sternum; these six, excepting the first, were osseous at both extremities, and the cartilaginous part in the middle answering so far the purposes of a joint. The false ribs had likewise their cartilages; and these cartilages, at their anterior extremity, terminated in broad osseous laminæ, that overlapped one another like scales.

To the upper extremity of the sternum was attached a bone, which, at its upper extremity, divides into two, each of which was connected with a scapula resembling a bird's, and was made to perform the office of a clavicle.

We are rather surprised that Mr. Home did not remark other analogies between this and the structure of birds. In the feathered tribe, a bifurcated bone is attached both to the sternum and scapulæ; there is a cartilaginous joint in the middle of the true ribs; and, in many at least, these ribs have transverse processes, overlapping the rib immediately below. The first rib likewise, in many birds, is not a true rib; and here, though the first rib was joined to the sternum, it differed from the rest, if we may be allowed to judge from the figure, by having its cartilage not in the middle, but connected with the sternum. Notwithstanding, however, this general analogy, the differences are considerable. The bifurcated bone, in the feathered tribe, does

not supply the place of the clavicles; the sternum is different; the form of the chest is widely different; and the transverse processes have not the situation, nor belong to that species of ribs in which we here see the osseous laminæ.

The pelvis of the ornithorynchus was unusually small, and had two moveable bones attached to the pubis, like what we see in the kangaroo, and, he might have added, in the opossum, where these bones are connected with the pouch where the female occasionally puts up her young, and conceals her mammæ.

In this account of the osseous system, nothing is said of the extremities, their articulations, or of the number and form of their bones; nothing of the number or form of the bones that compose the cranium and face; nothing of their relative situations or sutures; nothing of the diameters of the cranium or foramen magnum; nothing of the different aspects of the head, with regard to the trunk; nothing of the vertebral column, and consequently nothing of the number or differences of the cervical, dorsal, lumbar, and sacral vertebræ. Nor can we implicitly trust to the plate, where we never should have found out the number of ribs. It is a figure, like too many in modern books of anatomy, where youthful science, bashful and coy, conceals herself in her secret apartments; but, childishly attached to vanity and show, and wishing to astonish the world with her consequence, sends her painter, engraver, or colourman, in gaudy livery, and with polished smoothness, to tell the inquirer she is not at home; or, in plain English, is not to be seen.

Muscular System.—There is mention only of a strong panniculus camosus, and a diaphragm, muscular towards the circumference.

Vascular System.—The heart was found in the middle of the chest, with its apex towards the sternum, and the whole inclosed in a strong pericordium. Mr. Home must have observed, that this is the situation of the heart in birds. The heart had two ventricles, and two auricles, but no foramen ovale between the auricles, nor direct communication between the ventricles. The two ascending venæ cavæ were like what we see in the kangaroo, beaver, otter, and many other animals. The difference of size which he remarked between the right and left auricles might have been owing to a difference of contraction at the time of death. Sabatier has shewn, that this is the cause of a similar difference in other animals. Nothing more is said of the distribution of the veins or arteries: he saw nothing of their appearance in the head, neck, trunk, extremities, nor viscera; nor was much more to have been expected, without a previous injection of the vessels.

Absorbent System.—The lacteals were small, and the mesenteric glands numerous, of the size of millet seeds. He has not mentioned the thoracic duct, and probably saw none of the lymphatics.

Nervous System.—The brain was not in a state to be examined; and the spinal marrow, the cauda equina and their nerves, are all passed over in silence. The olfactory and optic nerves were small; but the fifth pair, which supplied the muscles of the face, as in many other animals, uncommonly large.

Alimentary System, and its appendages.—The teeth were all grinders, four in number, lying in the posterior part of the mouth, composed of a horny substance, and embedded in the gum, to which they were connected by an irregular surface, instead of fangs. The upper mandible projected anteriorly and laterally, and beyond the inferior. In the superior, there were longitudinal ridges, and in the inferior longitudinal grooves, which corresponded when the mouth was shut: these were all in the corneous substance. The transverse serræ in the lower mandible were confined to the fleshy parts.

The tongue did not project into the bill, but was confined in its situation; it was small towards the apex, swelled, and rose towards the root, where two pointed and corneous teeth sprung from it, and inclined forwards: the rest of the tongue was armed with short cuticular papillæ, inclining backwards.

There were cheek pouches, as in some of the monkeys. No mention is made of parotid, submaxillery, sublingual, or other salivary glands.

The œsophagus was very small, particularly behind the larynx; the stomach was an oval, membranous bag, laterally attached to the œsophagus, which seemed to be continued into the duodenum. The duodenum, at its commencement, had its coats thickened, forming the valve of the pylorus; it was fixed in its situation, and received the fluids conveyed by the ductus pancreaticus and ductus choledochus communis: this last duct, as in ordinary cases, was formed of the cystic and hepatic ducts, and entered with the pancreatic into the intestine, at a small distance from the pylorus. The duodenum had transverse rugæ or valvulæ conniventes. The remaining part of the intestinal canal, which was strung on a loose, broad, and transparent mesentery, had no rugæ, but was studded with glands. There seems to have been no foundation for the division into large and small intestines. A small loculated cæcum, in some respect similar to that in the bittern and heron, marked the commencement of what Mr. Home calls the colon. At the extremity of the rectum, which opened below the root of the tail, were two lateral glands, which he thought at first belonged to the

rectum; but afterwards, upon examining the ornithorynchus hystrix, saw two glands in a similar situation, with ducts leading to the penis.

The omentum, like the mesentery, was a thin transparent membrane, without any fat; it was attached to the stomach and spleen, in the usual way: but, reaching the colon, it returned to the spine, forming the meso-colon, and leaving no apron or pouch interposed between the viscera and the peritoneum lining the muscles.

The liver was divided into five lobes; the gall bladder had its usual situation.

The spleen was connected with the stomach and omentum, and consisted of two long slender bodies, united at one end, and for the length of half an inch.

The pancreas was spread upon the great and little omentum, as in the sea otter, and was made up of small parts, in a very similar manner.

Urinary System.—The kidneys were conglobate, and in the usual situation; the ureters pellucid; the capsulæ renales small; the bladder was not in the pelvis, but attached to the peritoneum lining the abdominal muscles. We might add here, that the situation of the bladder was not singular. Nothing is found in the pelvis of the mole but muscles. The rectum and other organs, which pass through the pelvis in other animals, are there on the outer side between the bones and the skin. In the ornithorynchus, the urethra, like the ureters of birds, terminated in the rectum.

Respiratory System.—The nostrils opened near the point of the bill: the glottis was uncommonly narrow, the epiglottis proportionally small: the rings of the trachea broad for their size, and meeting nearly behind. The lungs were large, corresponding to the capacity of the chest. They consisted of four lobes; two on the right side, one on the left, and a small one behind the heart. the lateral and posterior sides of the heart were the only parts in contact with the lobes. The base of the heart was situated higher, and the fore part was covered by the sternum. The cartilages of the larynx are not described; and a thyroid gland, if it was present, is not mentioned.

Organs of Sense.—The organ of smell, in its construction, resembled that of other quadrupeds, and might be said to have consisted of two turbinated bones in each nostril.

The eye was small, nearly spherical; had a membrana nictitans, and a very loose eyelid.

The opening of the ear was at a very great distance from the organ; and there was a cartilaginous canal, the size of a crow-

quill, winding round the side of the head, on the other side of the temporal muscle; and leading to the orifice in the temporal bone. The membrana tympani was large, of an oval form; on the outer side, concave. The tympanum contained only two bones; one passing directly from the membrane towards the senestra ovalis, which Mr. Home calls the foramen ovale. On this there was a second, imperfectly resembling the stapes, having a flat surface, of a circular form, upon the orifice, and a small neck, by which it was united to the other bone: the organ, altogether, bore a greater resemblance to that of the bird, than the quadruped.

The organ of taste was not examined with a view to its sensitive functions.

From the fifth pair of nerves that supplied the muscles of the face being uncommonly large, Mr. Home was led to believe, that the sensibility of the different parts of the bill was very great: and that therefore it answered the purpose of a hand, and was capable of nice discrimination in its feeling; the same observation, he acknowledges, was made by Blumenbach of Gottingen, who first dissected these nerves.

Sexual System—The male which Mr. Home examined was longer than the female, of a darker colour, had a spur on his hind leg, but no fat under the integuments. The fat, however, till further inquiry, should hardly be considered as any characteristic of sex; its presence, or absence, might be owing to age, or casual circumstance. The female, from the great quantity of fat, was of the same circumference with the male.

In the male the testicles were situated in the abdomen, close to the kidneys; and the epidydymis connected by a broad membrane, which admitted of its lying very loose. The vasa deferentia, proceeded to a penis, which did not project beyond the surface, but seemed to the eye, a process from the pubal side of the rectum; and, when retracted, was entirely concealed by the inner membrance of the verge of the annus, forming its prepuce. This penis was composed of two parts, each of which had its glans, with perforated papillæ; one glans pointing to the right, the other to the left, and in these directions discharged the semen through the papillary orifices: this structure, it must be obvious, has a distant analogy to that of birds. There was no appearance of seminal vesicles; and there is no mention of a prostate gland.

In the human, and many other species of animal, a canal, called the *urethra*, serves the common purpose of conveying both semen and urine. In the bird, however, and the ornithorynchus, the seminal and urinary canals are distinct; but there are not

two kinds of urethræ. Urethra signifies the urinary passage, and can never, without an abuse of language, be applied to any other. From not attending to this circumstance, the following sentences, if not unintelligible, are at least obscure: 'When the urethra is laid open from the bladder to the rectum, about half an inch from its termination, it communicates with the proper urethra of the penis, which afterwards divides into two, one going to each glans, in the centre of which is a cavity, communicating directly with the papillæ, the points of which are pervious, forming the orifices by which the semen is evacuated. The vasa deferentia open into the membranous part of the urethra, before it comes to the root of the penis.' Does Mr. Home mean, that the vasa deferentia open into a common canal, which, after communicating with the urinary passage, divides into two branches, leading to the two clusters of papillæ at the extremity of the penis?

His description of the female organs is equally confused. He mentions a vagina which is not different from the extremity of the rectum and fallopian tubes, where he acknowledges there is no uterus. In this instance, he seems to have been misled by the common language of anatomy, which is founded on distinctions that are not to be met with in the ornithorynchus.

In the female, the ovaria were small, though the size might depend on the state or the season in which the animal was killed. From each of the ovaria proceeded a canal, which terminated in the rectum and in the lateral parts of the urethra, a valvular projection being interposed between their orifices and the fæces. Our author thinks that this structure bears an analogy to that of birds, though not surely of those birds that have but one ovarium, and one oviduct: it has certainly a much stronger resemblance to that of frogs and other animals which have two ovaria, and two oviducts.

Classification in Natural History.—From the want of mammæ, and from the structure of the sexual organs, the naturalist surely cannot, with any degree of propriety, arrange this animal with the Mammalia; and very few will be hardy enough, after the account Mr Home has given, to think of arranging it with Birds or Fishes. The only possible class that remains is the Amphibia; and if it belong to that class, it must be arranged with the order of Reptilia. It differs indeed from all of that order, by having a rough hairy covering. But a rough covering, a bilocular heart, and warm blood, every one knows, are not peculiar to the mammalia, and such objections to its being admitted among the amphibia cannot be sustained.

Dr. Shaw, in his Natural History, has placed this animal under the name of Plætypus, in the order of Bruta, between the elephant and the walrus, and another animal, of a similar structure, in the genus Myrmecophaga of the same order. To this animal he has given the name of Myrmecophaga aculeata. Mr. Home calls it Ornithorynchus hystrix; and read a paper upon it to the Royal Society, June 3, 1802, entitled, 'Description of the Anatomy of the Ornithorynchus Hystrix.' In this paper he mentions a third species of the ornithorynchus, of the same size as the hystrix, and which was shot at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, by Lieutenant Guthrie, in the year 1790, a drawing of which was made by Captain Bligh, and sent to Sir Joseph Banks, who allowed Mr. Home to annex a copy of it to his paper. The anatomy of this third species is not described, but probably resembles that of the other two. Mr. Home says of the ornithorynchus hystrix, that its internal structure so nearly resembles that of the paradoxus, that a particular description of many of the parts is unnecessary. He proceeds, however, to describe it, but in the same careless manner as he did the paradoxus, relating every thing nearly in the order in which it occurred, just as a merchant does in his day-book. We shall not follow him through this description; but could wish that, in future, if he attempt any thing similar, he would transfer his accounts to his ledger, before he presents them to the eye of the public. At the same time, we readily acknowledge our obligations to this learned and ingenious author for what he has done; and are still of opinion, that the faults of his paper are solely to be imputed to his want of leisure, or of inclination.

Art. XIV. *Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, compared with other Institutions: and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments: In answer to the Objections of Hume.* By W. Craven, D. D. Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. About 480 pp. Printed at the University Press. 1802.

THIS volume, which was published originally in detached parts, was completed about the time that our design commenced. We procured it in order to examine its contents; but were soon given to understand, that, in consequence of some mistake committed by the printer, the author was preparing a more correct copy for immediate publication. We therefore considered it an act of mere justice to wait for the present edition; and now proceed to give some account of the author and his performance.

With the author of a book, generally speaking, a Reviewer has no concern. We conceive, however, that, upon this occasion, we are bound to notice some parts of his character which have come to our knowledge, because they throw a light upon a few peculiarities in the volume before us.

Dr. Craven is now in an advanced period of life, the greater part of which he has devoted to habits of study and retirement. Not many years since, he was placed at the head of a numerous and learned society; and though he enters but little into the bustle, and not at all into the intrigues, which such a situation sometimes occasions, yet he reflects dignity upon the College over which he presides, by the mild lustre of unaffected learning and unostentatious virtue.

From the simplicity of his manners, we may account for much of what might otherwise appear negligence in the composition of the work before us. There is no attempt whatsoever at ornament, and scarcely any at elevation of style. The words appear to be set down as the thoughts occurred; and the reader is often left to collect his own inference from the facts and observations which are loosely thrown together before him.

From his advanced age we expect a quaint phraseology, as well as an antiquated orthography.* Indeed, if we did not know that this volume has been published within a very few years, and occasionally see an allusion to modern writers, (though to none, we believe, of later date than Mr. Gibbon's and Bishop Hurd's earlier publications), we might conceive ourselves perusing a treatise a century old.

We shall confine our observations to the first and largest part of the volume, namely, the 'Discourse on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations compared with other Institutions.' The 'Discourse on a Future State of Rewards and Punishments,' though highly valuable, from the acuteness and solidity with which the argument is conducted, is a republication of some sermons which appeared twenty years ago. They have certainly undergone some alteration in their form, but they cannot properly be considered as a subject of critical investigation now.

The plan of the other discourse is of a very extensive nature; and we conceive we cannot give a better idea of it, than by quoting the heads of the chapters, with the pages at which they respectively occur. This is the more necessary, as such an arrangement is a desideratum in the volume itself.

Chap. i. p. 3. The religion of the Jews compared with that of other nations. ii. p. 11. The Assyrians and Ægyptians.

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* We suspect that, even amongst his contemporaries, Dr. Craven can scarcely produce authority for *marvelous, choosed, behooved.*

iii. p. 22. Religious systems of the learned. iv. p. 40. The learned of Chaldæa and Egypt. v. p. 54. The form and design, the rise, the institutions, and sanctions of the Jewish government vi. p. 64. Concerning Moses, as the lawgiver of the Jews; their history, prophetical writings. vii. p. 78. Objections to the divine origin of the law. viii. p. 96. The Messiah foretold. ix. p. 109. The office of Messiah. x. p. 122. Concerning the prophets who foretell the Messiah. xi. p. 131. The prophecies concerning the Messiah, and their interpretation. xii. p. 157. The moral precepts of the law vindicated and improved by Jesus: the doctrine of salvation: how far taught in the Old, and further explained in the New Testament. xiii. p. 175. Precepts in common with Christian and Heathen moralists. xiv. p. 186. On a future state, as taught by the Heathens. xv. p. 203. Doctrines peculiar to Christianity. xvi. p. 219. Types pointed out in the New Testament. xvii. p. 231. The reality of types. xviii. p. 245. Objections to types and typical interpretation. xix. p. 258. Conversion of the Gentiles; Rejection and restoration of the Jews. xx. p. 273. Antichrist, Saracens and Turks, Millennium. xxi. p. 287. Scriptural and Pagan prophecy compared. xxii. p. 302. Jesus the Messiah. xxiii. p. 316. The ministry of the Apostles. xxiv. p. 328—353. The rise of Christianity and Mohammedism compared.

The design of this discourse embraces no less a compass than the internal evidence in favour of the Old and New Testament: It professes also to explain and enforce the arguments from the much contested and embarrassed subjects of prophecy and type. A work of such extent must obviously be supposed to rank under the denomination of a sketch, rather than be considered as a finished piece. The merit of the execution, therefore, must principally depend upon these two points; the correctness of the outline, and the importance of the parts which are selected as the subject of the artist's skill. In the former of these particulars, our author will be found to deserve great praise, as the topics are in general treated with precision and judgment. But, perhaps, it may be thought that in a performance of this nature, which embraces such a variety of particulars, and which of necessity must treat them with conciseness, the greatest stress should have been laid upon facts which are undoubted, and most attention paid to that species of argument which is least liable to objection. Hence, unless any such new light can be thrown upon a controverted point, as to establish it upon a firmer basis than any on which it stood before, or unless a different mode of reasoning be employed upon questions which have hitherto been found to 'engender strifes' and difficulties, such points and such

questions should, in our opinion, be avoided. This appears to us reasonable, whether the work be intended for the satisfaction of the believer, or the confutation of the infidel. On this account, then, we could not but be sorry, when we saw a considerable portion of the volume appropriated to the subject of Types and Prophecy; because, in matters so much disputed, even the believer will require some originality to repay him for a new demand on his attention; and the infidel will not yield his assent to arguments, of which the force is not universally, or at least generally, acknowledged by believers themselves. When, therefore, we confess, that the subject of prophecies from the Old Testament, quoted and alluded to in the New, appears to us to have been more satisfactorily treated by Dr. Sykes, in the preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and by Bishop Chandler, in his defence of the Christian Religion*, the venerable author of the work before us most excuse us, if we say we should rejoice if he had devoted the pages in question to the elucidation of Oriental and Greek learning, or to the sensible dictates of his own excellent judgment.

We have indeed been much gratified by the plain but judicious

* The argument from prophecy is certainly much more striking in the aggregate than in the detail. On this subject we shall take the liberty of borrowing the words of that sensible and liberal divine, Dr. Jortin: 'That Christ was foretold by the prophets may be showed, I think, without an accurate discussion of single texts. There are, it may be, a hundred different passages in the Old Testament relating to some person, whoever he be, one or more, and to certain considerable changes which should happen in the world. Christians say that they relate to Christ, and some of them are produced in these discourses. He who would see more may consult Fabricius, *De Ver. Chr. Rel.* p. 569., *and* Huet *Dem. Ev.* prop. vii. History, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, will furnish us with a variety of heroes, kings, warriors, philosophers, and illustrious persons. If we endeavour to apply these passages in the Old Testament to any one of these great men, for example, to Judas Maccabæus, to Confucius, to Socrates, to Solon, to Numa, to Scipio Africanus, to Augustus Cæsar, &c. we immediately see that it is a vain attempt; that three-fourths of them are nowise suitable to his character and his deeds; and that it is easy to select many single ones amongst them, which cannot possibly be adapted to him. If we apply them to Christ, and to the religion established by him, a surprising correspondence immediately appears.

To ascribe these coincidences to chance, is to give a very poor and unsatisfactory account of them. He who can believe that chance produced them, ought not to object credulity to Christians.' *Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 177. (note.) 2d edit.

manner in which he has brought together the result of his investigation into Pagan opinions and practices, on subjects of religion and morals, and compared them with the Jewish and Christian institutions. The result of some particulars, in which he has thus compared them, may be best explained in his own words.

'We find, that as the bulk of mankind seemed, in the crowd of false gods which they worshipped, to have lost all sight of the true God; so it likewise may be said of the more learned, *that in their wisdom they knew not God*. Some there were who held, indeed, the doctrine of a Supreme Intelligence; but they were neither well enough disposed, nor sufficiently able, to teach it as they ought, with sincerity or truth*. They formed conceptions unworthy of the Deity, making at the same time a number of subordinate beings the objects of worship; along with these bringing in a train of fantastical, superstitious, and profane notions. And thus, while they prided themselves in the distinction of philosophers, they only shewed, for the most part, a superiority over the vulgar, in being more ingenious in folly and absurdity.

'The power and strength of human reason, to investigate religious knowledge, must be seen and tried, if not in the popular establishments of a country, yet in the theories of the learned and inquisitive. But neither in the one nor the other do we meet with truth, pure and incorrupt, without a mixture of error and elaborate folly. In the various regulations and institutions intended for public use; in all the inquiries undertaken for private information and improvement; in every effort of genius, to what purpose soever directed, men have failed of attaining to a system of religion so just in its doctrines as that of the Jewish nation.

'And here the wonder will return upon us, if we set a divine interference aside, how it should happen, that this people professed a religion so very different from all other religious systems of every kind; those, more particularly, of their neighbours, who were held in such high estimation for science by the rest of the world. The learned came from the remotest countries, and were glad to borrow from the treasures of Chaldæa and Egypt: these were the great sources of knowledge. How was it, that the Jews drew not waters from these fountains, so much sought after by other people, and so near at hand to themselves? Or rather, we ought to ask, whence had they their clear and pure waters, when all the springs were every where muddy and corrupt?' p. 51.

The following observation appears to us solid as well as ingenious, and we do not recollect to have met with it before.

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* See Bishop Warburton concerning their double doctrine: the one held out to the people in common; the other, what they taught their hearers in private. Vol. ii. B. 3. § 2, 3. Notissimum est, illud Platonis, Τον μεν ουν ποιητην και πατερα του δε παντος ευρειν τε εργον, και ευροντα εις παντας αδυνατον λεγειν. Timæ. p. 28.

'Had the law of the Jews been of human institution, it were to be expected, that Abraham would have appeared as the first giver and promulgator. He had left his native country, to go in quest of a new habitation (Gen. xii.) and having fixed his seat in Canaan, in the midst of a warlike people, who were strangers to him, some rules and regulations might have been thought necessary for the convenience of him and his followers. At least, it is on such occasions, and from the like beginnings, that states and commonwealths have usually taken their first rise.

'He had not been long in Canaan, before he had an opportunity of signalizing himself in a war, in which the kings of the country had suffered a defeat; and he no sooner took a part in it than he gave a turn to the action, and victory declared in his favour, (Gen. xiv.) The country seems at that time to have been divided into a number of petty kingdoms; and Abraham appears to have possessed a force and strength, which, compared to that of his neighbours, was by no means inconsiderable. He was, besides, of that eminence and authority among his own people, which entitled him to become the head and founder of a state.* Thus he was in circumstances which both invited and required him, according to the usual rules of proceeding, to think of framing a system of laws, and of settling some form of government, for the security and establishment of him and his followers. Yet it was not Abraham, but Moses, who, many years after, engaged in the office of giving laws to the people of the Jews; though to all appearance, his situation was as discouraging, and as adverse to the purpose, as that of the former was favourable.' p. 64.

Had our author not confined himself to the outlines of his very extensive subject, or had he applied himself more intensely to those parts of his argument, which we think would have better repaid his attention, and gratified his readers, we are of opinion, that he might have entered much more particularly into the detail of the Mosaic law, and shewn its superiority over every other mere human institution (especially of those which approach the nearest in point of time), by its correct notions of human duty, and its enlarged views of human comfort.

As it will be thought, from the nature of the topics enumerated above, that the discourse occasionally assumes the form of Polemic, we can assure our readers, that the tone of discussion employed by our author constitutes a most legitimate and Christian species of warfare. The only expression, throughout the whole work, to which even the most bitter hater of *Odium Theologicum* could, by any perverseness of construction, apply that appellation, is the following:

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* Possibly Romulus, when he first laid the foundations of Rome, was not able to muster a much larger, certainly not a more respectable number of followers, than Abraham at this time.

'The writer above alluded to, willing to persuade his readers, that the νους of Plato is the λογος of St John, goes on to observe, "that the theology of the Philosopher could never have been established by all his eloquence, had it not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the Evangelist:" an observation built on a false position: and as groundless as it is insidious. "Dignosci queat," says Mosheim, "examinæ mundi ψυχις doctrina in Timæo ut et de νω mente in Philebo, quam parum Platonis quæ dicitur trinitas, cum Christiana consentiat."

With joy and gladness should we behold the time, when works of controversy shall appear upon any subject of religion, morals, or politics, or indeed upon any subject of inferior moment, (for it is not always true that the passions rise in due proportion to their real interest), with no more symptoms of acrimony than this. We should hail it as the dawn of those halcyon days which, we are assured, will attend the full prevalence of the holy religion we profess.

Upon the whole, we consider this volume as bearing honourable testimony to the industry, good sense, and candour, of its venerable author; and we recommend it, as furnishing a series of important facts and observations, to all ingenuous inquirers into the very interesting subject of which it treats.

ART. XV. *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America, during* 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, *and* 1802. Dedicated, by permission, to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. President of the United States. By John Davis. 8vo. London. 1803.

MR. DAVIS is a pedagogue, who would be a wit and a fine gentleman. He went to America avowedly as an adventurer, or, as he more elegantly expresses it, 'the architect of his own fortune;' and subsisted there, partly by translating occasional publications from the French, and partly by teaching children their rudiments in parish schools and private families. In this way, he appears to have roamed through the greater part of the Southern States, falling sentimentally in love with all his female pupils, and landladies' daughters, and changing his situation every two or three months, either because he was tired of it, or because his employers thought proper to dismiss him. His book is entirely occupied with the story of his own exploits and adventures, and ought rather to be called Memoirs of his Life, during his stay in America, than an account or description of the country. With the exception of some observations on the climate and state of society in Carolina, and a topographical account of the city of Washing-

ton, this book contains nothing of a descriptive nature, and little that is calculated to make a lasting impression on the mind. In running it over, we are indeed occasionally amused with a peep, as it were, at the manners of the people among whom he travelled; but of the state of agriculture, commerce, and the arts, we learn nothing. Except the mocking bird and the rattlesnake, we hear very little of the productions of the country; and, on the interesting subject of its government and politics, a total silence is observed. Mr. Davis's observations seem principally to have been directed to the manners of the people of America; but, unfortunately, he had not an opportunity of visiting the New England states, where, in this particular, he would have met with the most originality and room for speculation; and, in the southern part of the Union, he seems to have directed his attention only to the lower classes of the people. His chief associates, indeed, appear to have been an itinerant English doctor, and a wandering Irish schoolmaster, with whom he used to tipple porter and quote Virgil, and with several of whose epistolary effusions, both in verse and in prose, he has favoured the public in this volume.

Though we can assure our readers, that there is very little to be learned from these travels, yet, as they are preceded by a complimentary epistle from no less a person than the President of the United States, and as the author himself arraigns all preceding travellers of 'want of taste, want of literature, or incapacity for observation,' we think it advisable to give a short sketch of his proceedings, and some few specimens of his own peculiar excellencies.

He landed at New-York, where he translated Bonaparte's Campaign, and was introduced to Mr. Burr, Vice President of the United States, whose eloquence he praises in a line from Homer, and whose daughter he celebrates in a hemistich of Horace. Here, also, he used to drink madeira with a Major Howe, who had unfortunately been metamorphosed into a deist by reading an odd volume of Gibbon's history.

'Before this period, the Major was a constant attendant on the established Church; but he now enlisted himself under the banners of the infidel Palmer, who delivers lectures on deism at New-York, and *is securing for himself and followers considerable grants of land in hell.*' pp. 22, 23.

From New-York he walked to Philadelphia with his friend the physician; and though they must have passed through the greater part of the state of New-Jersey, the only remarks that he favours us with, are, that he was prevented from sleeping at Elizabeth-

town by the barking of a huge mastiff, 'which noise it did not remit during the whole night, notwithstanding the Doctor put his head out of the window, and vociferated to him repeatedly;' and that at Trenton the said Doctor, having an inflammation in his eyes, and happening to stumble as our author was leading him to his chamber, 'took an opportunity *comically enough* to observe, When the blind leads the blind they shall both of them fall.'

At Philadelphia, they found the yellow fever; and, after moralizing a few days in its deserted streets, they embarked for Carolina, and were happily landed at Charleston. Here Mr. Davis was admitted as usher to an Academy, but was dismissed in about six weeks, and accepted the place of tutor to the children of a rich planter, about eighty miles in the interior of the country. In this woodland retreat, Mr. Davis appears to have given himself up to poetry and romance. He makes various observations upon the fragrance of the flowers, the clearness of the waters, and the melody of the birds; and, after contrasting the finery of the Carolina ladies with the graceful undress of Venus when she meets Æneas in the woods, he makes the following fine apostrophe to the place of his residence.

'*Coosohatchie!* thou shalt not be unknown, if, by what eloquence nature has given me, I can call forth corresponding emotions in the breast of my reader to those which my own felt when wandering silently through the woods.' p. 74.

In the middle of these delicate and sentimental effusions, we were rather surprised to find our author start up in the character of a bloody huntsman.

'I generally accompanied my pupil into the woods in his shooting excursions, determined to make havoc both among birds and beasts of every description. Sometimes we fired in vollies at the flocks of doves that frequent the corn fields; sometimes we discharged our pieces at the wild geese, whose empty cackling betrayed them; and once we brought down some paroquets, that were directing their course over our heads to Georgia. Nor was it an undelightful task to fire at the squirrels on the tops of the highest trees, who, however artful, could seldom elude the shot of my eager companion.' p. 94.

The following remarks, however, are of a different character:

'In Carolina, the legislative and executive powers of the house belong to the mistress: the master has little or nothing to do with the administration: he is a monument of uxoriousness and passive endurance. The negroes are not without the discernment to perceive this; and when the husband resolves to flog them, they often throw themselves at the feet of the wife, and supplicate her mediation. But the ladies of

Carolina, and particularly those of Charleston, have little tenderness for their slaves. On the contrary, they send both their men-slaves and women slaves, for the most venial trespass, to a hellish mansion, called the Sugar-house. Here a man employs inferior agents to scourge the poor negroes: a shilling for a dozen lashes is the charge. The man or woman is stript naked to the waist—a redoubtable whip at every lash flays the back of the culprit, who, agonized at every pore, rends the air with his cries.

'Mrs. D. informed me, that a *lady* of Charleston once observed to her that she thought it abominably dear to pay a shilling for a dozen lashes; and that, having many slaves, she would bargain with the man at the Sugar-house to flog them by the year!' p. 90.

We give Mr Davis credit for the humanity of these observations, though they are certainly calculated to give the European reader a very exaggerated idea of the severity with which slaves are generally treated in America. In spring he returned to Charleston, in the neighbourhood of which, he again met his friend George, the Irish schoolmaster; and, 'not more joyous,' says he, 'was the meeting of Flaccus and Maro at the Appian way.'

'*O! qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!*'

From Charleston he proceeded to Georgetown. That our readers may form some idea of the profit and pleasure to be derived from the narrative of this exemplary traveller, we insert the following passage.

'I supped and slept at a solitary tavern kept by young Mr. Dubusk, whose three sisters might have sat to a painter for the Graces. Delicate were their shapes, transparent their skins, and the fire of their eyes drove the traveller to madness. Finding my young landlord companionable, I asked him why he did not pull down the sign of General Washington, that was over his door, and put up the portrait of his youngest sister. That, said he, would be a want of modesty; and besides, if Jemima is really handsome, she can want no *effigy*; for good wine, as we landlords say, requires no bush.

'Mr. Dubusk was a mighty great dancer. Indeed he would frequently fall a capering, unconscious of being observed. But he swore he would dance no more in the day time, because it was ungenteel. We drew our chairs near the fire after supper, when Mr. Dubusk did his utmost to entertain me. He related, that, only a few nights before, some sparks had put a black pudding into his bed, which, by the moonlight through his window, his apprehension magnified into a black snake, and made him roar out, murder!' p. 117.

From Georgetown he returned to New-York, where he was again hired as a pedagogue; and, upon the election of Mr. Jefferson, followed the multitude to Washington, and was present at

the delivery of his inaugural address, with a full copy of which he has generously presented his readers. At this period, a series of letters from his friend Mr. George is introduced, of whom he is pleased to observe, 'that every thing that relates to him must be interesting to the poet, the wit, and the scholar.' As a specimen of his talents and his friend's taste, we shall insert a part of his first epistle.

'While devouring Newtown-pippins, and drinking cyder to the health of your bardship in my heart, the stage driver brought me your welcome epistles. At first, the fellow pretended there was no letter for me, (I tolerate these liberties, because the Jehu has a pretty wife); but in a few minutes he delivered me the packet. *Jucundius est legere quam libere;* so I left the old parson, and his wife, and his daughter, (her nose is like the tower of Lebanon looking towards Damascus), and I opened, O Devil! thy budget of satire. This has revived me; and I now walk about with your epistles in my hand, which, however, I am obliged to put down every five minutes, to hold both my sides while I laugh it out.

'By St. Patrick, I swear thou art above all men dear to me. I love thee with more than brotherly love. I hope we shall never part. In the vast deserts of the world, I never could have found such another friend as thyself; (and to speak in the language of classic antiquity) I think Apollo himself must have brought us acquainted.

'Tell me if you are about publishing your poems. Do not go far for a title. Nothing appears so stiff and pedantic as a little book with a magnificent title. Remember that Horace gives his odes no other name than *Carmina*, though he might have accumulated a thousand imposing epithets to decorate his title page. It is rumoured you intend dedicating your effusions to Burr. Avert it, literature. Dedicate not the book to an American. Can Burr, or Madison, or Adams, or even Jefferson, add to the reputation of him who aspires to be read on the banks of the Thames?' p. 190. 191.

The concluding sentiments of this extract form but a small part of the acrimonious lucubrations which this book contains upon the literature and learning of America. We do not mean to deny the charge: literature is one of those *finer manufactures*, which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise; there must be a great accumulation of stock in a nation, and a great subdivision of labour, before the arts of composition are brought to any great degree of perfection. The great avenues to wealth must all be filled, and many left idle in hereditary opulence or mediocrity, before there be leisure enough, among such a people, to relish the beauties of poetry, or to create an *effectual demand* for the production of genius. But though these causes may for for some time retain the genius of America in a state of subordi-

nation to that of Europe, we cannot persuade ourselves that its condition has ever been so deplorable as to form a proper object for the contempt of Mr. Davis or his friend. There are an hundred authors in America, who would be ashamed to write like either of them, and ten thousand men who are not authors, that are entitled to feel compassion for their insolence and their vanity. The truth is, that American genius has displayed itself wherever inducements have been held out for its exertion. Their party pamphlets, though disgraced with much intemperance and scurrility, are written with a keenness and spirit, that is not often to be found in the old world; and their orators, though occasionally declamatory and turgid, frequently possess a vehemence, correctness, and animation, that would command the admiration of any European audience, and excite the astonishment of those philosophers who have been taught to consider the western hemisphere as a grand receptacle for the *degeneracies* of nature.

In a subsequent visit to Washington, Mr. Davis was present at a learned dispute between a Virginian and a New-England man, about the literary merits of Franklin. The latter, enthusiastic in what related to his countryman, asserted that the Doctor, being self-taught, was original in every thing he had published. To this the Virginian replied, that his writings, so far from being original, exhibit nothing but a transposition of the thoughts of others; in short, that he was a downright plagiarist. After some altercation, they agreed to decide the point by wager. The Virginian immediately produced two books; and, by comparing the passages, proved, to the entire satisfaction of the company, that the celebrated parable of Franklin against persecution, is copied nearly *verbatim* from Bishop Taylor's polemical discourses. He afterwards clearly demonstrated also, that the much admired epitaph of the philosopher, is taken from one in Latin, written on the bookseller Tonson, by an Eton scholar, an English translation of which was given in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1736. Most of our readers hold in their recollection that of Franklin. We insert the concluding lines of the other, in which the resemblance is sufficiently striking.

'Hic jacet bibliopola,
Folio vitæ delapso,
Expectans *Novam Editionem*
Auctiorem et *Emendatiorem*.'

Not content with these proofs, the gentleman went on to convince his opponent 'that the pretended discovery of calming troubled waters by pouring oil upon them, may be found in Bede's

History of the Church; and that the facetious essay on the air-bath, is poached word for word from Aubrey's Miscellanies.' We do not remember to have met with these detections before, and are not prepared to enter into any controversy on the subject.* It is certain, however, that the enlightened part of the American community begin now to consider this boasted character in a very ambiguous point of view, and to attach much less consequence and veneration to his memory than formerly. To him they are certainly indebted for the most important public services, and for his strenuous endeavours to introduce among them a taste for science and literature; but, on the other hand, his canting exhortations to extreme frugality, have had their effect in preventing the expansion of the noblest principles of the mind; and his example in the dereliction of religion, has certainly lent an unfortunate support to the cause of septicism and infidelity.

During his stay in the metropolis, Mr. Davis was present at one of the most interesting debates with which the house of Representatives has been occupied since the accession of the present President. One of the very first measures of that administration, was to propose the absolute and entire abolition of all internal taxes, comprehending those which had been imposed on distilled liquors, on refined sugars, on licenses to retailers of wine and spirits, on sales by auction, on carriages, and on stamps, and to substitute in their place certain customs and duties on the importation of foreign commodities. This step, we are afraid, was taken rather from a

* The parable, we believe, was never claimed, nor avowed by Franklin, as one of his compositions; and, as to some of the other articles, we must be permitted to doubt the accuracy of the Virginian gentleman's information. In the ecclesiastical history of venerable Bede, we have not been able to find any account of a tempest calmed by oil. But cap. 1. lib. v contains an anecdote of *Oidwaldus Amantissimus Deo Pater*, which probably misled the American scholar; for that worthy person is there related to have quelled a violent tempest '*orando*;' and the Virginian probably conceived that *orandum* is the Latin for oil.

The antiquity of the fact respecting oil, cannot, however, be questioned. We find in Pliny, Nat. Hist. II. 106. '*omne mare oleo tranquillari*;'—and Plutarch, Quæst. Nat. p. 914. speaks of the

'καλλαισια και γαληνη θαλαττης
'ελαιω καταρραινομενης.'

We think it much less likely, that Franklin should have met with this fact in venerable Bede, or even in Pliny and Plutarch, than that he should have taken the hint at second hand from some quotation in more popular works.

strong desire of popularity, than from any sound or deliberate principle of financial reformation. Old established taxes are commonly paid with the least reluctance, and the amount of those that were levied in America, was confessedly very inconsiderable. By the repeal, a deviation is made from what a celebrated writer has denominated the 'plain high road of finance;' the revenue of the country must be entirely drawn from the fluctuating source of commerce; a dependence is placed on the very winds and waves; and, in case of a war, which the history of the X. Y. Z. negociation, and the affair of New Orleans, lead us to consider as an occurrence by no means so improbable as some affect to suppose, this resource must be in a great measure cut off; and it will then be necessary to resort again to those very taxes, the imposition of which, at first, occasioned an insurrection, but to which the people had become accustomed and reconciled. The repeal does not appear to have been supported so much on the idea of any individual tax being exceptionable, as (in conformity to a regular and peculiar system of policy) in objecting to the principles of internal taxation. If any particular tax had been considered as burdensome or unequal, it ought certainly to have been modified or withdrawn; but we must confess ourselves utterly at a loss to comprehend the inducements to an entire and indiscriminate annihilation of these sources of revenue.

Of these imposts, that on stamps particularly excited the interest of the community; and although, in a commercial country, a duty of this nature must be extremely productive, and though we are disposed to think, none can be of more just or equitable operation; yet, as the very mention of a stamp act, though imposed by his own representatives, is grating to the ear of the American citizen, and calls up to his mind remembrances of an unpleasing nature; and as the prejudices of the multitude, frequently led more by association than reflection, are sometimes to be respected; we can readily conceive, that a timid and cautious administration would urge the substitution of some other in its stead, or even have consented to its abolition, until a more awful and imposing crisis. But as for the duties on stills and distilled liquors, to which but a temporary resistance was made by the deluded inhabitants of the western parts of Pennsylvania, not only the necessities of government, but the policy of checking a most general and odious vice, the bane of social and domestic happiness, required their continuance. Where spirituous liquors, both of home and foreign manufacture, are in such vast abundance, and so easily procured, a perpetual allurement and irresistible temptation is held out to intemperance.

The consequence is, that in no country is habitual drunkenness so prevalent as in the United States; and, instead of augmenting the evil, the wholesome interposition of legislative control is imperiously demanded for its diminution.

The repeal of the other taxes, such as those on auctions, licenses, carriages, and refined sugars, must at first sight appear equally inexpedient, as nothing could afford a more legitimate subject for the exercise of the just and received notions of taxation than each of these. To us, it seems a strange inconsistency, that the Nabob, who lolls in his coach, and who consumes refined sugar or wine from the retailer, should give nothing for the enjoyment of these luxuries, while those in the more humble walks of life are obliged to pay an high price for the imported necessaries of life. Could the idea be entertained that the people were too much burthened, it would certainly have been better, as the federalists proposed, to lessen or take off entirely the duties on salt, brown sugar, the cheaper teas, the coarser manufactures; and indeed, from all those articles which the poorer part of the community have the greatest reason to require, in which they are more immediately concerned, and which arise rather from the necessities than the refinement of human nature.

Notwithstanding, however, the reasoning and the clamours of the federal party, it is known that the bill passed both the Senate and House of Representatives, and immediately received the approbation of the President.

Our author, after observing that Mr. Randolph was the most eloquent in the discussion, and that he addressed the house fully an hour in favour of the repeal of the duty on domestic distilled liquors, dismisses the subject with this single profound remark,

'I took great interest in this debate, *for I consider whiskey very cheering*; but I thought it curious that a member from Virginia should stand up for the repeal of the tax upon that liquor, which, now it is become cheaper, will throw many of his countrymen off their feet!'

After his return from Washington, Mr. Davis took up a small school at Occoquan, in the neighbourhood (he says) of some flour-mills that made as loud a noise as the cataract of Niagara; and happening to see a few straggling Indians in their way through the country, he takes the opportunity of introducing a romantic legend, about the Indian *Princess* Pocahontas, daughter of the *Emperor* Powhatan, who fell in love with Captain Smith soon after the first colonization of Virginia. We never met with any thing more abominably stupid than this story, and must be excused for passing it over with very little notice.

though Mr. Davis is pleased to say, 'this part of my volume, many of my fair readers will, I am persuaded, *hug with the tenderest emotion to their bosoms.*' All that we can understand of the story is this: Captain Smith runs away from Pocahontas, and Captain Rolfe falls in love with her; and she, after weeping some time for the fugitive hero, marries the living one, and comes over to England with him, where she lives at Brentford, and dies at Gravesend. As a specimen of our author's talent in novel writing, we add the following affecting account of Captain Rolfe's appearance in love.

'He delighted in the secrecy of his solitude, where he could indulge undisturbed, the emotions that *Pocahontas* had excited; he wandered dejected by moon-light along the banks of the river; and he who once was remarked for dressing himself with studied elegance, now walked about with his stockings ungartered:

'*Omnia vincit amor; nos et cedamus amori.*' VIRG. p. 283.

In about three months, Mr. Davis became wearied with his situation at Occoquan, because he had not 'found any female disciple with expressive dark eyes, to consider his instructions as oracular;'—'so he returned to Philadelphia, and from that place proceeded to New York.' This is his own account of his progress.

From Philadelphia I travelled to New-York, partly by water, and partly by land. In the passage-boat to Burlington was a sweet girl of seventeen, whose voice was music; and *who observed that the Pennsylvania shore of the Delaware was much more pleasant than the Jersey side.*' p. 312.

He then travelled for a day with an old man, 'whose lungs were ulcerated with blasphemy;' and was fortunate enough, in the concluding part of his journey, to sup with an elegant landlady and her sister, on whose table he found an old novel, 'the concluding pages of which seemed to have been moistened with the tears of sensibility.'

After some farther perambulation, our author again takes up a school in the interior of Virginia, where he falls in love with one of his pupils; and, after the usual term of three months, is dismissed to make room for a more steady and diligent instructor. From this place, he marched indignantly to Baltimore, where finding a shipmaster liberal enough to take his word for payment of his passage across the Atlantic, he thought such an opportunity was not to be neglected, and was wafted back to England, to prepare this volume for the instruction of his countrymen.

Our readers will now be pretty well able to judge, whether

the President of the United States has selected for his patronage, the most profound and discerning of all his visitors, or whether the travels of Mr. Davis are perfectly fitted for all the purposes of such a publication. Of his style, a pretty correct judgment may be formed from the specimens we have already exhibited; but as he is pleased to say, that 'in what relates to the structure of his sentences, he does not fear competition with those who have reposed from their youth under the shade of academic bowers,' it is nothing more than justice to add one word upon that subject. The style and phraseology of this book, is made up of pedantry, affectation, and vulgarity. At one time, we hear of mountains 'losing their lofty summits in the clouds;' and at another, of a bewitching damsel, 'who had two balls of pitch stuck in her head for eyes.' A reverend professor is said to be very *voluminous*, 'because he would admit no book under the size of a folio on his shelves;' and the author himself is described as having been *bounded* from one town to another, and as having accompanied his pupils with great condescension in the exercises of fishing and *gunning*. We learn also, that he purchased a lap-dog *because of* its littleness; that he had a mind *not inductile* to wit and humour; and that his style is infected with no colloquial barbarisms.

Such is Mr. Davis's performance, which is to supersede the use of all past, and all future travels in America; and to serve for a model to all who may hereafter visit remote regions for the instruction of their countrymen. The attempt, however, in which he has failed, has not yet been attended with very eminent success in the hands of any other. The productions of Monsieur Brissot, Mr. Weld, and the Duc de Liancour, are certainly of a class far superior to that which is now before us; but an accurate, unprejudiced, and philosophical account of the United States, is still a *desideratum* in Literature. We have for some time been expecting from the pen of an enlightened foreigner, already celebrated for his travels in Egypt and Syria, the result of his observations on this interesting country, and have greatly regretted the circumstances which have so long withheld this gratification from the public.

ART. XVI. *Lectures on Painting.* Delivered at the Royal Academy, March 1801. By Henry Fuseli, P. P. With additional Observations and Notes. London: Johnson. 1801. pp. 151. 4to.

THE very philosophical views exhibited in every part of the discourses of the late illustrious President had opened a path in the art of painting, almost equal in novelty and extent to that

which had been pointed out in science by the invaluable productions of Bacon. The general approbation of his countrymen was well bestowed on that correctness of judgment, comprehensiveness of understanding, chasteness of conception and modest simplicity of style which characterized the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds's pen, as well as of his pencil; and lovers of the art had a right to expect, that, with such an example in view, his followers would not fail to carry on the work of improvement, which had so long been required, and which he had so ably commenced.

Was the author of the performance now before us, ignorant that these were the sources of the approbation bestowed upon his predecessor? Or was he actuated in publishing it by the same motives of ludicrous vanity, which lately influenced the first painter of a great nation to exhibit, for public inspection, under the same roof with the transfiguration, his miserable composition of the Sabines, as deficient in execution, as it is wretched in design?

That our author is no stranger to the influence of such motives, is manifest from that singular specimen of vanity and assurance, which is offered as an exordium to these lectures, and which must produce an effect directly contrary to that which was obviously intended.

After some magnificent observations, which, if they have any meaning, are intended to prove that it is more difficult to treat a subject after preparation than before it, our author has been at the trouble of extracting from the laws of the academy, those passages which allude to the province of the lecturer; and, in the most obscure language, delivers his comments upon the qualifications of his station. Amongst those qualities, which are required by the laws, we find properly enough placed, perspicuity of method, and command of words. It is doubtless in allusion to his glaring deficiency in these requisites, a deficiency which he himself has discovered, that our author introduces the old adage, obscured in a mist of language through which we can scarcely discern it, 'you must take the will for the deed.' With regard to the plan of the work, we are informed, that a *progressive* method is to be observed; and indeed, until we read the next sentence, we could not conceive that any other method was possible. But he immediately shows us very clearly, that his method is not to be progressive, by adding, that this 'will enable him on future occasions to treat more fully those parts, which the pressure of others seemingly or really more important, has obliged him to dismiss more abruptly, or with less consideration, than they have a right to claim.' This is so confused a circumlocution, that it de-

scribes nothing very accurately; but it is much nearer to a description of a retrograde, than of a progressive method.

After a flattering account of the substance of lectures which the author means to deliver, we are disappointed with the information, that the present are only to be considered as fragments; and various obstacles which have occurred, are enumerated as an excuse for their incompleteness. We cannot but consider it highly unjustifiable in any man to *undertake* an office which is of great importance, and to suffer himself to be prevented by any surmountable obstacles from the performance of his duty.

In his *definitions*, we cannot give our author credit for being often understood; and, when intelligible, we think him generally inaccurate. By *Nature*, he says, he understands 'the general and permanent principles of visible objects: not disfigured by accident, or distempered by disease; not modified by fashion or local habits. If by disfiguring, be meant alteration of form from the usual standard, and by accident any irregular cause of change, we should be inclined to pronounce this definition too unqualified for a lecture on painting. Disfiguring by accident, occur so frequently in nature, and contributes so indisputably to the picturesque, in landscape, that we are astonished any painter should have thought of making it an exception to the general idea of 'natural.' He preceeds, 'Nature is a collective idea, and, though its essence exists in every individual of the species, can never, in its perfection, inhabitant a single object.' To assert that any thing in nature is imperfect, or that the essence of nature can be otherwise than perfect in any individual, appears to us to favour of paradox. Modified as the assertion ought to have been, by a reference to the contracted views of art, and the incomprehensive conceptions of man, it would still be scarcely admissible.

Speaking of *beauty*, he says,

'On *beauty* I do not mean to perplex you or myself with abstract ideas, and the romantic reveries of platonic philosophy, or to inquire whether it be the result of a simple or complex principle. As a local idea, beauty is a despotic princess, and subject to the anarchies of despotism; enthroned to-day, dethroned to-morrow. The beauty we acknowledge, is that harmonious whole of the human frame, that unison of parts to one end, which enchants us; the result of the standard set by the great masters of our art, the ancients, and confirmed by the submissive verdict of modern imitation.' p. 5.

In this exquisite passage, we suspect the author has perplexed himself: at least, we know he has perplexed his readers. In smoothness of numbers, it is far inferior to the celebrated song by a person of quality; but, in the other great attribute of that com-

position, it may boldly challenge a comparison. What shall we say of a brain, that can combine such a motley group of incongruous images, as 'beauty the result of complex principle'—'beauty a despot'—'this despot subject to tyranny'—'qualities dethroned'—'a principle, the harmonious whole of the human frame'—'a quality the unison of parts'—'a despot, the result of a standard'—and 'modern imitation returning a verdict.'

Of *grace* we have a definition somewhat more intelligible, but equally imperfect in a general view, and inapplicable to particular cases. It is ridiculous to say, that grace is no where to be met with, but in a balance of motion and repose. What becomes of the Endymions, Fawns, and other sleeping figures, which are perfectly graceful, although repose constitutes the chief character. Applied to execution, he adds, that it means 'that dexterous power, which hides the means by which is was attained, the difficulties it has conquered.' We doubt much, whether grace alone can be said to do this, though we do not deny that the art to which our author alludes, contributes in some measure to the perfection of grace.

On the subject of *genius*, a very ill-timed and inconsistent reserve is affected. The lecturer tells us, that 'he speaks of genius with reserve; for no word has been more indiscriminately confounded.' He then defines it to be 'that power, which enlarges the circle of human knowledge, or combines the known with novelty.' If he had said at once, that genius is the power of making new combinations, which are pleasing or elevating to the mind, we should have conceived that he at least knew what he meant by the term of which he is speaking.

'Guided by these preliminaries,' he proceeds, 'we now approach that happy coast (Greece), where, from an arbitrary hieroglyph, the palliative of ignorance, from a tool of despotism, or a ponderous monument of eternal sleep, Art emerged into life, motion and liberty.' p. 7.

Geography, medicine, carpenters' shops, Egyptian pyramids!!! There is, at least, some variety in this strange jumble of images; but the remainder of the passage is only a heap of unconnected sounds. Indeed, from the specimens that we have already given, our readers will be inclined to agree with us, in allotting to Mr. Fuseli the very first rank among that class of artists who employ themselves in covering paper with certain alphabetical characters, that bear a delusive resemblance to significant composition.

The rest of the first lecture is employed in describing the origin and progress of the Greek art. Amongst the reasons given for the excellence of the Greek painters, one is, 'that simplicity of

their end, that uniformity of pursuit, which, in all its deviations, retraced the great principle from which it sprung, and like a central stamen, drew it out into one immense connected web of congenial imitation.' With the sublimity of this passage our author seems to have been so fully impressed, that he has emphatically introduced it in another part of his work.

After some borrowed conjectures on the rudiments of art among the Greeks, and a prolix, uninteresting detail of rather more than is known concerning Polygnotus, Aglaophon, Phidias, Panænus, Colotes, and Evenor, he draws up a fine, though imaginary character of Apollodorus the Athenian, which may be recommended to the perusal of our readers, as one of the very few specimens of tolerable composition which are to be met with in this work. We must, however, observe, that the merit of Apollodorus, in the conception of his Adjax, seems to have been almost equalled by the noble strength and expression of the original description; which Mr. Fuseli has only parodied, where he talks of 'the figure of Adjax wrecked; and, from the sea-swept rock, hurling defiance into the murky sky.'

The character of Zeuxis's style is not ill drawn. Doubting, at first, whether he shall assign the praise of genius to him, our author at last comes to a determination in his favour. We cannot, however, imagine why he should think it a necessary conclusion, that because Zeuxis was endowed with the power of invention, he must therefore have been a grand and beautiful *colourist*. Innumerable cases have occurred in the history of the Art, to prove that these two perfections cannot easily be united. It would perhaps not be going too far, to lay down as a general maxim, that superior merit in one of those departments is incompatible with excellence in the other.

The following attempt is made to explain the manner in which this painter embodied by signs the Athenian Δημος as 'the only supposition which can shed a dawn of possibility on what else appears impossible.'

'Perhaps, he traced the jarring branches to their source, the aboriginal moral principle of the Athenian character, which he made intuitive.'

In a long dissertation on Timanthes's celebrated picture of Iphigenia, our author combats the opinions of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Falconet; and decides, that

'He did not hide the face of Agamemnon, because it was beyond the power of his art; not because it was beyond the *possibility*, but because it was beyond the *dignity* of expression.'

Notwithstanding the authorities so copiously cited by our author in favour of the concealing system, we would, in the first place, beg leave to suggest, that the rule does not, as by his practice he seems to think, apply to writing; but that, in that art, it is always expedient to give the reader a full view of what is meant: And, secondly, that with respect to painting; those subjects, in our opinion, are totally unfit for the painter, however strictly conformable they may be to nature, which necessarily involve concealment, even though this be required by propriety. By excellence of execution, it is true, a skilful artist may sometimes cover the defects of his subject. But a judicious painter will avoid unnecessary difficulties; and most assuredly we can derive no pleasure from the contemplation of concealed forms, except perhaps the very trifling gratification of being able to commend the workman's sense of propriety.

Our author's account of the third æra of the Greek arts contains a well drawn character of Apelles, and some just remarks on the possibility of uniting various characters in one subject, without injury to the primary feature.

The second lecture commences with an account of the restoration of the art in the fifteenth century, and then details its progress, as advanced by the genius and industry of Masaccio, Mantegna, Luca, Leonardi da Vinci, Bartolomea della Pata, Michael Angelo, Raphael Sanzio, Titian, Correggio, &c.

The account which our author gives of these artists, is equally correct and trite; not, indeed, that the same sentiments were, ever since the flood, couched in such inimitable language. Our author has the peculiar talent of diffusing around the most common-place ideas which a man can conceive, such a glare of absurd expression, and of daubing over his sketches with such a violent and fantastic colouring, that it frequently requires a little reflection to recognize the most familiar object. Leonarda da Vinci, we are told, was 'all ear, all eye, all grasp;' and, after a pompous account of the magnificence of those various powers, of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which were required in Michael Angelo, for the accomplishment of his great work the Cupola of St Peter's, our author sums up his character, by saying, 'such, take him all in all, was Michael Angelo, *the salt of art.*' In a note upon this great man's sensibility to the beauties of oil colour, our author compares oil paint to fruit, and descants upon its glow, its juice, its richness, and its pulp. We never before heard of the *juice* of oil colour and can only venture a conjecture that our author alluded to the turpentine; and that by the *pulp*, he meant to express some of the drying oils, or perhaps macgellup.

The character given of Raphael has some merit; that of Titian is indecent in the expression, though pretty justly conceived; and Correggio's manner is happily, tho' fancifully described, as affecting us with the soft emotions of a delicious dream. We can by no means, however, agree with our author, that if impropriety of ornament were to be fixed by definition, the subjects of the Farnese gallery might be quoted as the most decisive instance. The licenses in which An. Caracci, and many of his cotemporary artists indulged, when, without respect to the rules of arbitrary propriety, they eagerly seized upon every opportunity of exalting their art, and displaying the full extent of their powers, call to our remembrance that great sculptor of antiquity, who proposed a huge mountain as the block from which to chisel out a human form, and only waited the commands of Alexander to make from these vast materials, a statue as durable as the world, holding, in its left hand, a city, with a myriad of inhabitants, and pouring from its right a mighty river into the sea!

In speaking of the Dutch school, we are told that Rubens 'first spread that ideal pallet, which reduced to its standard the variety of Nature, and, once methodized, whilst his mind tuned the method, shortened or superseded individual imitation.' All comment upon this absurd passage is unnecessary.

The second lecture concludes with a glance at the state of art in England, from the age of Henry the Eighth to our own. We present our readers with the following correct, but too concise observations, on a subject which was worthy of more attention.

'Whilst Francis I. was busied, not to aggregate a mass of painted and chiselled treasures, merely to gratify his own vanity, and brood over them with sterile avarice, but to scatter the seeds of taste over France, by calling, employing, enriching Andrea del Sarto, Rustici, Rosso, Primaticcio, Cellini, Niccoli; in England, Holbein and Torregiano, under Henry; and Frederigo Zucchero, under Elizabeth, were condemned to Gothic work and portrait painting. Charles, indeed, called Rubens and his scholars to provoke the latent English spark; but the effect was intercepted by his destiny. His son, in possession of the cartoons of Raphael, and with the magnificence of Whitehall before his eyes, suffered Verio to contaminate the walls of his palaces, or degraded Lely to paint the Cymons and Iphigenias of his Court; whilst the manner of Kneller swept completely what yet might be left of taste, under his successors; such was the equally contemptible and deplorable state of English art, till the genius of Reynolds first rescued from the mannered depravation of foreigners his own branch, and soon extended his view to the higher departments of art.'

Here was a favourable opportunity afforded to our author, for

adding his testimony to that of his illustrious predecessor, on a subject which interests the Academy at large, and the lecturer in particular It will be readily seen, that we allude to the great importance of establishing a museum, furnished with such specimens of the arts as would serve to illustrate the dry details of systematic works.

In no instance, has a more convincing proof been given of the trite maxim, '*Segnius irritant animos*,' &c. than in the slow proficiency made by those artists, who, confined to our own kingdom, have been unable to contemplate the original models, of which even the descriptions of Mr. Fuseli give such inadequate ideas. To say that those who enjoy the opportunity of travelling do not all derive proportionate advantage, is perhaps only to say that they have fallen into the same fatal errors with those students of philosophy, morals, politics who have been educated on the same plan. Dazzled at once by the splendour of generalities, they have ever afterwards disdained to pursue the humbler, and to them apparently obscure paths of minuter science.

In the third lecture, a subject more dignified in its nature, and topics of more practical importance are so much overwhelmed with bombast, confused imagery, and useless unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions, that we very sincerely doubt whether, to use our author's own words, 'invention will discover any gold, by penetrating athwart the outward crust of the rock into the composition of its materials.' The principal subject of the lecture is *Invention*, a term, of which our author seems to have a very obscure notion in its abstract sense, and which he explains by allusions which furnish instances of any thing but invention. He tells us, that 'representation of form in figure, constitutes the physical element of the art; character and action the moral.' Invention is described as the most eminent of the 'technic powers;' and the justness of the appellation is maintained by an 'appeal to the explicit acknowledgement of all ages, and the silent testimony of every breast.' Our author, however, soon after talks of that intuition into the sudden movements of nature, which the Greeks call φαντασιαι. If we have any glimmering of his meaning in this passage, we cannot discover the slightest connection between φαντασιαι, as thus defined, and invention. Shakespeare and Theon, whose warrior our author describes most pompously and most unnecessarily, are given as instances of men who possessed the 'radiant recollection of associated ideas, the spontaneous ebullition of nature.' Michael Angelo too, is quoted as an example, and his genius is compared to 'sparks flying from a red-hot iron.'

The characters of specific invention are tolerably well exemplified by full descriptions of M Angelo's Frescoes, in the Capella Sestina. As instances of the dramatic style, in which Raphael was unquestionably the greatest master, our author alludes to his Cartoons, and to the 'allegoric drama that fills the stanzas, and displays the brightest ornament of the Vatican.' He adds some observations on the historic style, and a few very just and prudential remarks on the propriety of temperance and moderation in plagiarism.

We perfectly agree with him in opinion upon the unity of line which is to be found in the Transfiguration, and think that every attentive contemplator of that divine performance must learn with astonishment, that this characteristic quality should have been so long a matter of controversy among critics.

Such, so far as we can discover, is the substance of the Lectures now before us. From the several particulars which we have detailed, we believe that most of our readers will agree with us in drawing one conclusion, that whether we consider our author's selection of subjects, or his manner of treating them, these lessons are equally ill calculated to furnish the solid practical advantages proposed by the institution, and required by the greater part of the pupils for whom they were intended. The Professor has taken ample care to set before us, in a clear light, the extent of his failure in performing the duties of his station; for he has descanted much upon the nature of those duties in a copious commentary on the laws of the Academy; by which standard we are willing to estimate his merits. We will venture to pronounce, without any degree of hesitation, that his efforts have completely failed. He has neither displayed 'knowledge founded on theory, substantiated and matured by practice,' nor 'a mass of well-selected and digested materials,' nor 'perspicuity of method,' nor 'command of words.' It is of infinitely less importance to inquire, if he is endued with that 'presence of mind, and that resolution, the result of conscious vigour, which, in submitting to correct mistakes, cannot easily be discountenanced.' That he has, at least, one of the requisites which he considers necessary in the professor of painting, 'an imagination to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in,' we readily allow; he has indeed placed them in such views as no one ever did, or ever will see them in. His performance is one great mass of shade, unbroken by a single gleam which might lead us to discover the objects upon which he is employed. From the real difficulties of his task, which, however, he has very carefully enumerated, he has kept at so respectful a distance, that we can form no judgment with respect to the pro-

bable success of his prowess, should he hereafter attempt to encounter them.

We cannot conclude without passing our decided censure upon a practice, not peculiar indeed to our author, but as unworthy of a philosopher as it is foreign from the duties of a practical instructor; we mean the practice of illustrating all subjects by toilsome and unproductive researches into those mines of antiquity, in which, while the labourer is dazzled by the specious appearance of valuable ores, nothing is to be found but a confused mass of rubbish or dross, from which all the valuable metal had been long ago extracted. In practical lessons of painting to the operative student of the art, we should be glad to hear no more of skiagrams, monograms, monochroms, cestrums, polychroms, and the whole heap of scholastic trash for which the present Professor cherishes so unnatural a veneration.

After all, we must allow him some praise for modestly appreciating the practical importance of his work. Convinced, it would appear, of its inutility, he has placed the book beyond the reach of that class of men for whom it was composed, by a compliance with the modish and ridiculously expensive form of publication; and he has removed the meaning beyond the reach of *all*, by composing in such an unintelligible jargon, as no reader can hope to decypher, without an extravagant waste of time and attention.

After the large specimens which we have given, and without which our readers might have blamed the severity of our judgment, we think ourselves amply justified in summing up Mr. Fuseli's character, as a writer, in the words of the poet:

> 'Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
> Three-pil'd hyperboles———
> Figures pedantical, this summer fly
> Have blown quite full of maggot ostentation.'

Art. XVII. *Odes of Anacreon.* Translated into English verse; with Notes. By Thomas Moore, Esq. of the Middle Temple. Third Edition, 12mo. London. Carpenter. 1803. pp. 322.

We are informed that the name on the title-page of this book does not announce to us a new candidate for literary distinction; but that it is well known to be a variety of the appellation by which the author was pleased to distinguish himself, when, a few years ago, he submitted to the public the Effusions of Mr. Thomas Little. By this change of title, we conclude, Mr. Moore means to intimate that he has now attained that maturity

of genius which may enable him to meet the decision of the public in his own person; and that he will not hereafter plead insignificance in mitigation of his offences, or seek shelter in obscurity, from the punishment which morality and criticism must concur in awarding to the peculiar vein of inspiration by which he is distinguished.

It was probably a similar confidence in his growing powers, that induced Mr. Moore to undertake a new version of a work already so often translated; for there does not appear to have been any other excitement to the task, but the hope of excelling his predecessors. It may be doubted, whether the interests of morality required that Anacreon should be presented to the public in a new and more seductive dress; and there are many, we suspect, who will be inclined to think that the world was long ago sufficiently well instructed in his maxims. Though far from being one of the most licentious writers of antiquity, he often trespasses against delicacy; and we believe it would be difficult to point out any classical writer, whose pen has done smaller service to the cause of virtue or good citizenship. To such of our readers as have the slightest knowledge of the poems in question, this remark will appear superfluous. But it is extorted from us by the very singular tenor of Mr. Moore's preface, and more particularly by the unusual expressions which he employs to characterize his favourite bard.

'In truth (says he) if we omit those vices in our estimate, which ethnic religion not only connived at, but consecrated, we shall say that the disposition of our poet was amiable; his morality was relaxed, but not abandoned; and virtue, with her zone loosened, may be an emblem of the character of Anacreon.

By what unheard-of metamorphoses, both of character and sex, Anacreon came to resemble *virtue with her zone loosened*, we cannot imagine. If the bard of Teos must be a woman, and if the fancy of a zone must enter into the description, we should think 'the reeling goddess with the zoneless waist' a comparison fully as natural, and a little more true. The assertion, that Anacreon will be found very amiable, if his heathen vices are laid out of the account, is saying but little for his character. and nothing at all for the tendency of his works. If the ideas which he suggests to us are of a nature not to be admitted into a virtuous mind in the present day, it signifies but little that they were deemed less offensive at a remote period.

But let us, as Mr. Moore has prudently done, shut our eyes to the more glaring offences of the poet; and, after all, we apprehend his character will have little to boast of. Mr. Moore says much of his benevolence; but neither of this, nor of any other

moral quality, have we been able to discover more than two faint traits in the whole of his works. One or two of his odes shew that he looked with an indulgent eye on the indiscretions of youth; and another, that he was averse to slander, and was not quarrelsome in his cups. In all the rest of his poems, the topic of moral praise is exhausted, when you have admitted that he is an elegant libertine. He is the father of that kind of poetry in which freedom from care, and the praises of wine and of love, are the constant, and almost the only topics; and though he is by no means so relaxed or so inflammatory as some of his imitators and translators, yet he never appears in any other character than that of a lover of the bottle, an admirer of the fair, and the eulogist of improvidence.

After having adopted ideas equally remote from the common opinion, and from truth, it would be surprising if Mr. Moore maintained any consistency throughout this extraordinary preface; and, accordingly, we often observe him struggling between an absurd wish to canonize Anacreon, and the obtrusive sense of his human imperfections. Had he been content to allow the poet his due praise, and no more, we should not have met with sentences like the following:

'His descriptions are warm; but the warmth is in the ideas, not the words.' p 21. Preface.

It might be fairly asserted, that this defence is absolutely unintelligible. But let us be metaphysical, and admit the distinction to be founded upon a difference; still we must maintain that it is one from which no consequence can be deduced. It is plain, that these warm ideas either are, or are not, suggested by the words employed; if they are suggested, the words have all that kind of warmth of which language is susceptible, as nobody ever looked for the caloric, or palpable fire of the chemists, in the letters of which those words are composed. But if, on the other hand, the imagery is not suggested by the terms, with what justice can we attribute it to Anacreon? The truth is, we suspect that Mr. Moore has used this notably subtile form of expression to express merely that the language of Anacreon is not gross. Must we repeat, what has been so often said, that grossness (however degraded a state of mind it may indicate) is not one of the most dangerous qualities in amorous compositions? We recal to memory this hackneyed observation for the sake of our readers only; for Mr. Moore has shewn, in the following passage, quoted from a note, that he himself was quite familiar with the doctrine:

'The picture here (says he) has all the delicate character of the *semireducta Venus*—and is the sweetest emblem of what the poetry of

passion ought to be; glowing, but through a veil, and stealing upon the heart from concealment.' Vol. ii. p. 72.

We should have thought that to say thus much, in order to prove Anacreon no saint, was the *ne plus ultra* of serious trifling; but we were in a manner forced to it by Mr. Moore's misrepresentations: for, besides the extravagant paragraphs already noticed, we meet with the following note upon the words,

'Τὸν Ἀνακρεοντα μιμεῖ,'—*Imitate Anacreon.*

'In morality too, with some little reserve, I think we might not blush to follow in his footsteps.' Vol. ii. p. 89.

It is strange that such a note should occur, when, in the ode immediately succeeding, Mr. Moore had an opportunity of contemplating the dispiriting effect of dissipation, and the remorse and terrors which it bequeathes to old age. In this melancholy *relique* the old debauchee, reviewing a life passed in pleasure and inactivity, exclaims

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναστενάζω
Θαμὰ Τάρταρον δεδοικώς.

which is rendered, with singular felicity, by Madame Dacier, '*Car j'apprehends furieusement la demeure de Pluton.*

We shall here take leave of the vices and virtues of Anacreon, and attend a little to those principles which should regulate the translator in the performance of his office. Since the splendid specimens exhibited by Dryden and by Pope, translation has ceased to be ranked with those servile occupations which devolve upon literary drudges. This task, as it has been found to require peculiar talents, is at length not only considered as useful, but even repaid with honour; and, from the numerous qualifications necessary to its execution, this reward seems to be most justly bestowed.

First of all, the translator undertakes the arduous office of an interpreter, which, in its fulfilment, implies a very exact knowledge of two languages, differing perhaps in idiom, as much as the nations who employ them differ in the shades of their character. Moreover, it is not always between contemporary people that the translator is obliged to interpret. He has frequently to acquaint us with the ideas and sentiments of very remote periods, conveyed in a language which is no longer an instrument of thought to any of the inhabitants of the globe. But when his affair is with poetry, the difficulty becomes still greater; for poets are, of all writers, those most conversant with the more delicate forms of thought. Their ideas are in themselves most evanescent, and associated by links of so perishable a kind, that they are liable to be lost in the lapse of time. It is then that translation becomes in-

deed formidable from its difficulty, when we act as interpreters between distant ages: for, if we reflect, that a period of above two thousand years, alternately agitated by tempests, or stilled by a dark and profound calm, lies between us and the classical writers of antiquity, we shall be convinced that he must be a skilful pilot, who can transport uninjured, over so vast a sea, the delicate merchandize of the poet. To relieve the translator from some of the difficulties of his task, certain laws have been prescribed, deduced chiefly from the example of successful predecessors; and these rules seem all to be dictated by one prevailing principle—that we should resemble the original as much as possible, and that our departures from it should be permitted only when rendered necessary, by the alteration of manners, and the progress of refinement.

In order to qualify a man completely for the task of translation, there is required, besides the previous philological preparations, either analogous genius, or that happy versatility of mind, which readily conceives and assimilates the various modifications of human character. Original talents, if not also congenial, oftener mislead their possessor, than ensure his success; for they dispose him perpetually to intrude his own favourite topics, and either totally to dispossess the genuine sense of his author, or so to colour and disguise it, that the original subject can no longer be recognized. Formerly, it was thought that literal versions were the most likely to attain the ends of translation; and it was customary to employ words, not only accurately similar in signification, but alike in number and disposition. It was soon found, however, that this method of '*doing into English*,' had a wonderful tendency to hide the sense; more especially in translations from languages, where inversion is the order of composition. Upon style, it had the constant effect of destroying its varieties, and levelling all to one jargon, remarkable only for quaint and unmusical ruggedness. The '*doing*' mode is therefore laid aside, with great propriety, as a rude, awkward, and barbarous contrivance; yet the principle which first dictated literal translations remains in force. It constitutes the translator's obligation to learn the prevailing species of his author's style, and to seek for a corresponding one in his own language. It forbids him, on any account, to substitute ornament for simplicity, diffuseness for energy and conciseness, or languor for animation.

There are some gentle readers of poesy (as they usually call it), whose feelings are abhorrent from the most moderate restrictions on the liberty of translation. These personages intreat (rather than assert) that full scope should be given to all possible improvements; and they love to repeat (after their harmless and

kindly manner), that it is unjust to reprove him who increases the sum of our pleasure. It is, however, generally observed, that few beyond this class of dilettani are much disposed to consider, as real improvements, the thoughts which translators have been charitable enough to lend to the classics. Those readers for whom the classics wrote, seldom wish to see their favourite authors converted into vehicles of modern sentiments. They can generally perceive the bungling arrangement and disproportionate selection of images to which such a licentious system of imitation must always give rise; and, even admitting the patchwork to be well put together, they are always inclined to suspect that the same *divinus efflatus* did not engender all the figures.

The liberty of improvement, then, should be sparingly exercised, even by writers of the best judgment; and its embellishing effects should only there be visible, where the original, by a conciseness too laconic, left a thought unfinished, or, by a simplicity too naked for a nicer age, gave an appearance of poverty to the expression. Neither the nakedness nor the taciturnity of a savage should remain with the author, when he comes into the polished assemblies of modern society; but he should in other respects be the same man, and exhibit the same modes of thought, as when he resided among his countrymen of old. Our plan does not allow us to systematize these general views of translation; but, imperfectly as they are here sketched, they will guide our decisions upon Mr. Moore's work.

We are now naturally led to examine the poetical merits of Anacreon; and we think the following account of his characteristic features sufficiently accurate to enable us, without danger of error, to institute a comparison between the original Greek and the translation now before us.

The simplicity of Anacreon is often spoken of; but it is seldom said wherein that simplicity consists—whether we are to look for it in the mode of thinking, or chiefly in the manner of expression. To us it appears, that, notwithstanding the examples of natural and obvious sentiment dispersed through the writings of Anacreon, as well as those of all the other minor poets, he is by no means distinguished for constant simplicity in his conceptions. If this remark holds with respect to the common editions, it applies with double force to the collection as given by Mr. Moore. Indeed, he has used so little discrimination in deciding what odes are genuine, and what falsely attributed to Anacreon, that the most opposite styles may be easily detected in the perusal of his volumes; and it would be impossible to fix upon any one trait pervading the whole, so as to characterize the poetry. That the odes translated by Mr. Moore are all Anacreontic, in so far as they

are Bacchanalian or amorous, we admit; but we cannot imagine that the translator himself, notwithstanding his professed disregard of the opinions of commentators, believed all that he has given to be the productions of the same individual. Some of them he allows to be spurious, and we are persuaded that he must have suspected many more. The very first ode in *this* book is evidently written by some imitator, ancient or modern; it speaks of Anacreon as then dead, and describes his ghost returning from the shades to bid his imitator prosper.

The love-songs of Anacreon are, in our opinion, neither very natural, nor very tender. They are the sprightly effusions of a man of gallantry; and please, from their readiness, their vivacity, and the ingenious finishing with which they are turned. They are seldom artless, and never so pathetic as to interest us deeply in the amours of the author. His sufferings are not so acute as to deprive him of wit, or diminish his relish for a conceit. Hence, though we have many well-turned compliments, and lively sallies, we have none of the whining tones of a modern poetical lover, no complaints of cruelty, no hints of suicide. There is no clashing of the interests of Bacchus and Venus; we never hear of his rising from table to wander into the wood in quest of his mistress; and we are much inclined to doubt whether any passion could have been so strong as to induce him to sacrifice his regular *quantum* of wine. Even in his drinking songs, where he seems much more in earnest, plainness of conception, and freedom from conceit, are by no means very prominent qualities. We often meet with studied epigram, and not unfrequently discover his partiality to forced thoughts, and curiously ingenious figures.

How, then, it may be asked, has simplicity been reckoned the peculiar feature of the Teian muse? And to what branch of the composition does this characteristic quality belong? In our opinion, it may be found in the *language* of Anacreon; and here it is equally apparent, whether we regard the structure of his sentences, or the selection of the words. This circumstance, we imagine, has recommended the odes to teachers of youth, as peculiarly adapted for the purposes of early instruction; and truly the love of Greek seems to have been more consulted in the choice, than the care of morals.

In the composition of Anacreon, epithets are so thinly scattered, that the reader is surprised when he stumbles upon one. We suspect that, in most of the cases where they do occur, the combination must be ascribed, not so much to the exuberance of the poet's fancy, as to his compliance with the ordinary forms of colloquial expression. Thus, when he bestows an epithet upon a

divinity, or upon the common apparatus of the convivial board, we generally find that he uses the appellative which the language of ancient superstition, and the rites of social intercourse, had consecrated to such objects. In the very few instances which do not fall under this remark, we shall find that the epithets are specifically necessary to the description, and constitute the most prominent feature of the picture. They are neither expletive nor ornamental: neither paraded for shew, nor introduced for the sake of the measure. They seem intended to make the author understood by his reader, and aspire at no higher object. We often meet with odes so very barren of what is termed poetical diction, that, were it not for some prettinesses in the turning of the thought, or the sprightly cadence of the metre, we should scarcely imagine we were reading a poem. Let any one, in proof of this, take up a common edition of Anacreon: he will have read through two entire odes without encountering a single epithet; and, we are confident, may examine the whole book without meeting any thing that will materially affect the truth of our general position. These remarks apply with very little modification to the slight tincture of metaphor which may now and then be traced in the writings of our poet.

Though we have already expressed a general opinion, that, in the contrivance and materials of the odes, there is a greater display of ingenuity than simplicity, yet some of them afford examples of the most artless and enchanting *naiveté*. His allegorical fictions are the subjects which oftenest lead him astray from nature. His love-songs are likewise a little affected—but he seems to sing the praises of Bacchus with a heart-felt fervour. We read with delight his two odes to the Rose, from the relief they afford to the constant recurrence of his encomium on drinking. The first is the better of the two, and is an example of simplicity, both in matter and manner. The other, which is the longest, is in a richer vein of poetry, and is perhaps the most splendid and elaborate of all Anacreon's compositions; but, towards the close, is defective in point of simplicity.

In the conduct of a long piece, his ingenuity generally wins some little trophy from his taste: but there are scattered through his works natural touches, which almost rival the scriptural simplicity.

> Ὀλίγη δὲ κεκόμισται
> Κάπις, ὅσην λυδίνην.—
> Τὸ σίμικρον μέλει μοι·
> Τὸ δ' ἄψορον τίς οἶδεν;

At times, Anacreon seems to have aimed at an epigram; and frequently the merit of an ode rests upon a line at its close—or even, in a few cases, upon a single word. The first ode (Θέλω

λέγειν, κ. τ. λ.) seems to be of this kind, and is evidently written for the sake of the word ἀντιφάσει; for if there is no sting in this word, we pronounce the ode miserably stupid. The chief merit of epigrammatic writing is conciseness; and many of Anacreon's odes are not so long as to exceed very much the limits of that kind of composition.

One additional remark we have to make, which is of considerable importance to our present purpose—that Anacreon never detains long an amorous sentiment or voluptuous image which comes across him. He gives it frankly, and without reserve—but never dwells upon it, or wantons with its circumstances, or gloats upon it in detail. We know only of two exceptions to this remark—the odes wherein he directs the painter how to delineate his mistresses. We disagree, therefore, with Mr. Moore, as to the tendency of the poetry, not so much because we are shocked by any gross violations of decency in particular instances, as that we disapprove of his constantly inculcating the absurdity of forethought, and teaching that to drink and to love are the only occupations worthy of our solicitude.

If there be any truth in the preceding observations, we cannot be expected to award to Mr. Moore the praise of being a faithful interpreter. Anacreon, we have said, used scarcely any poetical diction; but Mr. Moore employs one that is both very copious, and extremely ornamented. Anacreon is sparing, even to niggardliness, of epithets. Mr. Moore pours them forth with profusion on all occasions. In Anacreon, they are all essential adjuncts: in Moore, they are for the most part circumstances merely accessory, used, like the tails of Homer's similies, not for illustration, but for the imagery which they incidentally suggest. The two odes which we have mentioned, as not having a single word conjoined with an epithet in the original, have scarcely a word without one in the translation. Anacreon is less metaphorical and figurative than any other poet: less so, indeed, than some prose writers of antiquity. Mr. Moore's imagination is as fertile in figures, as his wit is ready in conceits. All the additions which he makes to his original, are combinations of epigram and trope.

Such is the plan on which the whole version seems to be conducted. To improve the ancient bard, by filling up his ideas, lending him new beauties, and bringing out his thoughts, is the main object of our translator. This method is pursued with various success, sometimes greatly embellishing the original, and, in other instances, completely flattening its spirit. It is used with advantage in a few odes that are descriptive; but we feel it cumbersome in many of the lighter pieces, and quite

intolerable in those which hinge on a conceit, or partake of the manner of an epigram. It has very much increased the bulk of the book, and has spun out some odes, which were once but catches or glees, to almost the dreary length of Chevy Chace. What the original has gained in elegance, it has lost in vivacity. It is no longer the ingenuity of the thought which strikes; it is the magic of the diction which pleases. But every writer who has a great command over the common-places and common phraseology of poetry, is at times in danger of imposing upon himself very unmeaning sentences. We think Mr. Moore often answerable for this inanity—for this trick of cheating his reader with the mere semblance of thought. We remember that he had very nearly passed upon us, as fine writing, the following vague lines relating to Anacreon:

> 'His tresses wore a silvery dye,
> But beauty sparkled in his eye,
> Sparkled in his eyes of fire,
> Through the mist of soft desire.' Vol. i. p. 38.

The smooth flow, and agreeable imagery of the three last lines, made the author loath to part with them, otherwise the intrinsic merit is as little as their resemblance to the Greek.

> Γεραων μεν ην καλος δε
> Καλος γε και φιλυσιος.

Before leaving this topic, we may remark the childish partiality which Mr. Moore shews to the adjective 'rosy,' which he uses much more frequently than even Anacreon's preference for the flower authorises. It occurs in every page, and sometimes with no very distinct meaning. We meet with *rosy bonds, rosy rays, rosy forms, rosy bosoms,* and a number of other odd rosy things, besides the constant recurrence of the more ordinary usages *rosy lips, rosy smiles, rosy breath,* &c. We suppose, that, to a listless Arcadian reader, this diction has the effect of introducing a number of agreeable and confused images; but it only reminds the attentive critic, of the little artifices of poetry, and puts him on his guard against their effect. The proverbial expression with which Mr. Moore has made us acquainted, 'ροδα μ' ειρηκας.' '*You have spoken roses,*' may be applied literally to himself.

On the whole, we think Mr. Moore has damped the fire of his work by a profusion of epithet; and that, had he broken the uniformity of his diction with some passages of greater simplicity, he would have heightened our pleasure, without materially violating his own plan of translation. That plan, however, we think, is constructed with so little judgment, that he has totally failed in the important point of being faithful to the manner of his original. We lament Mr. Moore's general want of success in copying the happy finishing we have so much admired in Anacreon.

A delicate hint in the original becomes a tame exposition in the translation; and, where the poet's art was shewn in leaving a picture or an inference to the mind of the reader, Mr. Moore generally helps us to understand it with a compassion somewhat officious. It may serve to illustrate this remark, if we give a prose translation of a short ode, and compare it with the version we are now criticising.

Μή με φύγῃς, ἰφῶσα
Τὰν πολιὰν ἰδοῖσα·
Μήδ' ὅτι σοι πάρεστιν
Ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον ὥρας,
Τἀμὰ φίλτρα διώξῃς.
Ὄρᾳ, κἄν στεφάνοισιν
Ὅπως πρέπει τὰ λευκὰ
Ῥόδοις κρίνα πλακέντα.

'Though thou hast seen my grey locks, ah, do not fly me; nor, because the flowery bloom of spring is yet upon thee, disdain my caresses. Behold yon garland! how lovely looks the snowy lily twined with the blushing rose.'

Mr. Moore is pleased to convert this truly Anacreontic sketch of an ode into the following full-length fashionable song.

Fly not thus my brow of snow,
Lovely wanton, fly not so;
Though the wane of age is mine,
Though the brilliant flush is thine,
Still I'm doom'd to sigh for thee,
Blest, if thou couldst sigh for me.
See, in yonder flow'ry braid,
Cull'd for thee, my blushing maid,
How the rose of orient glow,
Mingles with the lily's snow.
Mark how sweet their tints agree,
Just, my girl, like thee and me.

If our readers take the trouble of comparing the version which we have submitted to them, with this of Mr Moore, they will probably admit, that the *couplets* which he has thought proper to add, were not required by any obscurity in the original, and have as little tendency to improve the ideas of Anacreon, as to bring out his meaning.

As the poet does not often express himself with much simplicity, we have some reason to regret that his translator should have studiously diminished the small number of passages which possess this quality. Why, when Anacreon commissions a cup of Vulcan, and unaffectedly desires it to be made '*ὅσον δυνῃ βαθύνειν*,'—'as deep as possible'—does Mr. Moore put the order into the following language?

'Let me have a silver bowl,
Where I may cradle all my soul.'

How came 'ὁ βιος βροτοις ἀδηλος'—'Life is uncertain to mortals,' to signify,

'No! no! the walk of life is dark,
'Tis wine alone can strike a spark!'

'Τενφιεῦ δ' ἑκων γενειῦ'—'Beneath her delicate chin,' is translated (if the expression may be allowed)

'Then beneath the velvet chin,
Whose dimple shades a love within.'

In these, and innumerable other passages, we are at a loss to see any beauty or novelty which could have tempted the ingenious translator to use so full a licence of amplification. But some of his little additional fancies are much more original, and imagined, indeed, with such a happy dereliction of nature, that it was scarcely possible for him to have been anticipated in them. Thus Anacreon talks of 'the juice flowing from the pressed grape.' Mr. Moore prefers,

'In fervid tide of Nectar gushing,
And for its bondage proudly blushing.'

Now, what will our readers think of Mr. Moore's prudence, when they are informed that he actually attempts, in a great number of places, to combine with these tinsel additions, other additions of pathetic images: that, forgetting the peculiar vivacity of Anacreon's amorous character, he makes him a sentimental lover; that he chooses those very passages, in which he has rendered Anacreon more than commonly splendid and ingenious, to make him also sigh and burn? The redoubled absurdity of perverting, by additions, the character of the original, and coupling together the most incongruous qualities in those additions, must strike every one who reads the work denominated, by Mr. Moore, a translation of Anacreon. We might give various amusing specimens of this injudicious style, but shall content ourselves with referring to the twenty second ode; which, though distinguished by most of this author's beauties, is also remarkable for the imperfections just now pointed out. It is greatly more than double the length of the original. It may be reckoned one of Mr. Moore's most vigorous efforts towards the improvement of Anacreon, whose manner and design he nevertheless fails to preserve; and, by the union of sentimental tone with artificial thought, upon a trivial subject, he has in this poem approached the insipidity of the Della Cruscan school. But none of the manifest changes which Mr. Moore has made upon his original, are more exceptionable than his constant employment of glowing language and attractive imagery, in pourtraying those simple ideas that border a little up-

on the wanton. Far from shewing the least reluctance to render fully intelligible those *incorrect* passages, he eagerly seizes every opportunity of enlarging upon, and embellishing the little symptoms of temperament which not unfrequently escape Anacreon. But for the serious consequences of such amplifications and digressions, we should be disposed to smile at the want of self command evinced by Mr. Moore, whenever an amorous idea is started. Without sullying our page with the worst instances of this tendency, by which our author is, at least in his verse, distinguished from Anacreon, we shall only hint at a few of the most harmless.

καλει δ' ετταιρην—'*call my mistress.*'
'And bring the nymph with floating eye;
Oh! she will teach me how to die.'

χαριτεσσι συγχορευων—'*dancing with the Graces.*'
'When with the blushing, naked Graces,
The wanton winding dance he traces.'

χορευσω—'*I will dance.*'
'I'll bill and twine in airy dance,
Commingling soul in every glance.'

Our readers may find abundance of this, and of worse than this, in these volumes, *passim*.

A style so wantonly voluptuous, is at once effeminate and childish; and it is as unlike the original, as it is unmanly in itself. But we believe Mr. Moore's ambition is not pointed towards the chaster graces of poetical composition. He will probably, with his congenial friend Mr. Thomas Little, be consoled for all the justice which criticism can dispense,

'If some fond feeling maid like thee,
The warm-eyed child of sympathy,
Shall say, while o'er my simple theme
She languishes in passion's dream,
"He was indeed a tender soul."—

And so on, in much the same style, down to

—'The flowings of so fond a heart.'

After dwelling so long upon those instances, in which Mr. Moore's additions and changes are, we think, equally illegitimate for a translation, and unhappy as original composition, we must now inform our readers that he has been extremely felicitous in explaining and embellishing several of the odes which Anacreon had left meagre and unintelligible. We might give the 27th ode of Mr. Moore's collection as a very signal proof of his powers to elucidate one of the most obscure and unpromising of all the original poems. But we prefer the 21st, as affording a more full illustration of the remarks formerly stated

upon the subject of translation. The title is, '*τίς τὸ δένδρον πίνει;*' and, in order that our readers may compare the obscurity, the awkward abruptness, and the mean simplicity of the original with the ease and richness of Mr. Moore's version, we shall make use of an *Anacreon done into English* by one Gilpin of Yorkshire, and published in the year 1796.

'The black earth drinks, and the trees drink it; the sea also drinks the breezes, and the sun the sea, and the moon drinks the sun. Why do you contend with me, O companions! when I myself have a mind to drink?' Such is literally the material out of which the following beautiful workmanship has been fashioned:

'Observe, when mother earth is dry,
She drinks the droppings of the sky;
And then the dewy cordial gives
To every thirsty plant that lives.
The vapours which at evening weep,
Are beverage to the swelling deep.
And when the rosy sun appears,
He drinks the ocean's misty tears.
The moon, too, quaffs her paly stream
Of lustre from the solar beam.
Then hence with all your sober thinking,
Since Nature's holy law is drinking.
I'll make the laws of Nature mine,
And pledge the universe in wine.'

Of Mr. Moore's language it will not be necessary to say much, as the specimens which we have given evince the enviable command of an expression at once easy, copious, and variously elegant. From this he very seldom deviates: and, however he may have mistaken Anacreon's style in other respects, he is almost always strictly faithful to him in the possession of classical purity and propriety.

Many bungling translators, of a class somewhat different from the literal tribe, have endeavoured to make their authors speak English, by putting into their mouths the most slovenly and vulgar phrases, and have sacrificed all vestige of classical elegance to a disgusting familiarity of style. Those who attempt the version of lighter compositions, of songs and *jeux d'esprit*, are the most prone to this error; and examples of its influence are nowhere so frequent as in the numerous translations of Anacreon. A Pæan in honour of Dionysius is by this class of dunces *rendered* a low drinking song; and the slang of the punch-bowl, with all the *verba solennia* used in addressing the waiter, echo so constantly through the verse, that we are rather disposed to fancy ourselves messing at an ordinary, than reclining at one of those ancient festivals which the gods sometimes honoured with their presence.

Of this description and tendency are the errors of Mr. Younge, from whose pen there has appeared, since the date of Mr. Moore's work, a small but jolly version of the Teian, adapted, we should imagine, from its familiarity, to all the purposes of the most common use. Here the '*juice of the grape*' flows in the form of '*good liquor.*' '*Bottles and glasses*' are the apparatus of a Grecian table. The effects of '*libations to the rosy god*' are impressively brought home to every reader through the medium of a simple and affecting term, '*dead drunk*;' while the rhythm is happily adapted, not to the obsolete airs which used to wake the Lesbian groves, but to the tunes of more ordinary occurrence, which, in modern times, and northern climates, lull the jovial companion whom they had first excited to noisy mirth. In glancing over this work of the Reverend Mr. Younge, we were prevented from fulfilling our plan of reviewing it, by meeting with a few such verses as the following:

'Let others love war—bring a bottle, my boy!
For have it I will, and I must:
Dead drunk to lie stretch'd, is allow'd to be joy,
But none *to lye* dead in the dust.'—
'The horse, we observe, has a character on it,
And Parthians are guess'd by the shape of their bonnet.'

Mr. Moore has too sound a judgment, and too refined a taste, to blunder so grossly. His errors are in the opposite extreme. Younge's translation is well fitted for a pot-house: Moore's is much better calculated for a bagnio.

ART. XVIII. *The Trial of John Peltier, Esq. for a Libel against Napolean Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic,* at the Court of King's Bench, Middlesex, on Monday the 21st of February 1803. Taken in Short hand by Mr. Adams, and the Defence revised by Mr. Mackintosh. Large 8vo. London. 1803. pp. 464.

WE heard so much from London of Mr. Mackintosh's speech in defence of Peltier, and the admiration there expressed was so consonant to the effect which the publications of this gentleman have formerly produced on ourselves, that we were quite impatient to see a more full and accurate report of it than the newspapers afforded. In this desire we have at last been gratified by the present volume, which exhibits to the public, and will preserve for posterity, that splendid and noble oration, in a more entire form than is usually given by the press to the specimens of English eloquence. At the same time, we cannot doubt that the minute shadings on which the tone and har-

mony of colouring depends, as well as many groupes of illustration, and those bold felicities of expression that are struck out by a powerful imagination in the heat of extemporaneous fluency, could neither be caught by the short-hand writer at the time, nor by any effort of recollection brought again before the original mind. As all our readers must have participated our impatience, we do no more than our duty in enabling them to partake of our gratification, by a considerable number of extracts.

It is quite unnecessary to take any particular notice of what the volume contains, besides the defence; though that occupies little more than one third part of it. The evidence to establish the fact of publication, was of course a matter of form merely. The speeches of Mr. Attorney General, and the charge of the Lord Chief Justice, appear to be very carelessly reported, and in some passages are neither grammatical nor intelligible. There is a very large appendix, composed of no papers but such as are already in the hands of every body; extracted from the late official Correspondence, the Parliamentary Debates, the Termly Reports, Sir Robert Wilson's book, and L'Ambigu. The extracts from the last only are added here with propriety. The remainder of the volume consists of trash from the pen of M. Peltier himself; the querulous tone of which is, in the writer's situation, its most pardonable circumstance. That the volume might not be too small, a prolix Preface, and a tedious 'Addresse au Public,' are given both in the original French and in an English translation.

Nothing can be clearer, we think, than the merits of the trial. Neither the ingenious sophistry of the advocate, nor the unmanly evasions of his client, can disguise the tendency or the intention of a direct incitement to assassination. The result was such as, on all similar occasions, may be expected from a Middlesex jury, and from the resolute unclouded calmness of English justice; which, neither intimidated by appearances of a gathering storm, nor inflamed by the circumstances of temporary irritation, adheres to the formal administration of general and fixed rules; and, at a period when all the bonds that hold the European commonwealth together are untied, when all the international arrangements, once founded on reciprocal forbearance, appear broken up, is the last to retain a sense of ancient rights, a veneration and observance of ancient maxims.

When the legal grounds of a charge are clear, and the defence of the accused hopeless, all that we can expect in the argument of his Counsel, is a display of skilful arrangement in

the case he shews, and of judicious colouring, so as to soften and shade those parts from which the attention of the Judges must if possible be withdrawn. A great deal of this sort of art is accordingly employed here, to obliterate or explain away that which is the fundamental fact in every charge of libel, the libellous intention. This is first attempted, by representing M. Peltier as merely the republisher of Parisian satires and lampoons, with the view of gratifying public curiosity with such historical documents: in L'Ambigu, Chénier was made author of the ode which recommends a poniard; in the Defence, the imputation is shared between Chénier and Guinguené; and in his address to the public, Peltier pretends to have received information, since his trial, that this poem was the composition of the celebrated Carnot: A more elaborate effort is then made to prove the libels of Peltier's Journal, particularly the ode, to be rather satires against the Jacobins still lurking in Paris, than directed against the government and life of the First Consul; the reasoning in this part of the defence is far too subtle to produce any effect, though, in point of composition, it contains some of the most powerful passages of the speech. But the principal topics, both of argument and of declamation, are derived from the high importance of a Free Press; a doctrine on which, before an English jury, an advocate, how unfavourable soever his cause may be, can appeal to principles that are at once conclusions of the soundest philosophy, and the established prejudices of his audience. But those principles have never been illustrated with such force of historical painting, such extent of philosophical reflection, and such warmth of oratorial diction, as in the passages which Mr. Mackintosh has bestowed upon this noble subject. As one specimen of these, we have chosen the following extract.

'I am convinced, by circumstances which I shall now abstain from discussing, that *this is the first of a long series of conflicts, between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press now remaining in Europe.* Gentlemen, this distinction of the English press is new—It is a proud and melancholy distinction. Before the great earthquake of the French revolution had swallowed up all the asylums of free discussion on the Continent, we enjoyed that privilege, indeed, more fully than others, but we did not enjoy it exclusively. In great monarchies, the press has always been considered as too formidable an engine to be entrusted to unlicensed individuals. But, in other continental countries, either by the laws of the state, or by long habits of liberality and toleration in magistrates, a liberty of discussion has been enjoyed, perhaps sufficient for most useful purposes. It existed, in fact, where it was not protected by law; and the wise and generous connivance of governments was daily more and more secured by the growing civilization of their sub-

jects. In Holland, in Switzerland, in the Imperial towns of Germany, the press was either legally or practically free. Holland and Switzerland are no more; and since the commencement of this prosecution, fifty Imperial towns have been erased from the list of independent states, by one dash of the pen. Three or four still preserve a precarious and trembling existence. I will not say by what compliances they must purchase its continuance. I will not insult the feebleness of states, whose unmerited fall I do most bitterly deplore.

'These governments were in many respects one of the most interesting parts of the ancient system of Europe. Unfortunately for the repose of mankind, great states are compelled, by regard to their own safety, to consider the military spirit and martial habits of their people, as one of the main objects of their policy. Frequent hostilities seem almost the necessary condition of their greatness; and without being great, they cannot long remain safe. Smaller states, exempted from this cruel necessity—a hard condition of greatness, a bitter satire on human nature—devoted themselves to the arts of peace, to the cultivation of literature, and the improvement of reason. They became places of refuge for free and fearless discussion; they were the impartial spectators and judges of the various contests of ambition, which from time to time disturbed the quiet of the world. They thus became peculiarly qualified to be the organs of that public opinion, which converted Europe into a great republic, with laws which mitigated, though they could not extinguish ambition; and with moral tribunals, to which even the most despotic sovereigns were amenable. If wars of aggrandizement were undertaken, their authors were arraigned in the face of Europe. If acts of infernal tyranny were perpetrated, they resounded from a thousand presses throughout all civilized countries. Princes, on whose will there were no legal checks, thus found a moral restraint, which the most powerful of them could not brave with absolute impunity. They acted before a vast audience, to whose applause or condemnation they could not be utterly indifferent. The very constitution of human nature, the unalterable laws of the mind of man, against which all rebellion is fruitless, subjected the proudest tyrants to this control. 'No elevation of power—no depravity, however consummate—no innocence, however spotless, can render man wholly independent of the praise or blame of his fellow men.

'These governments were, in other respects, one of the most beautiful and interesting parts of our ancient system. The perfect security of such inconsiderable and feeble states, their undisturbed tranquillity amidst the wars and conquests that surrounded them, attested, beyond any other part of the European system, the moderation, the justice, the civilization, to which Christian Europe had reached in modern times. Their weakness was protected only by the habitual reverence for justice, which, during a long series of ages, had grown up in Christendom. This was the only fortification which defended them against those mighty monarchs to whom they offered so easy a prey. And till the

French revolution, this was sufficient. Consider, for instance, the situation of the republic of Geneva; think of her defenceless position, in the very jaws of France; but think also of her undisturbed security, of her profound quiet, of the brilliant success with which she applied to industry and literature, while Louis XIV. was pouring his myriads into Italy before her gates; call to mind, if ages crowded into years have not effaced them from your memory, the happy period when we scarcely dreamt more of the subjugation of the feeblest republics of Europe, than of the conquest of her mightiest empire, and tell me if you can imagine a spectacle more beautiful to the moral eye, or a more striking proof of progress in the noblest principles of true civilization.

'These feeble states, these monuments of the justice of Europe, the asylum of peace, of industry, and of literature, the organs of public reason, the refuge of oppressed innocence, and persecuted truth, have perished with those ancient principles which were their sole guardians and protectors. They have been swallowed up by that fearful convulsion, which has shaken the uttermost corners of the earth. They are destroyed and gone for ever.

'One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The Press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire.

'It is an awful consideration, gentlemen. Every other monument of European liberty has perished.—That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our fathers, still stands—It stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire—but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins.' p. 83.

After describing the submissive lethargy in which the great body of the people of France have been left by the Revolution, exhausted and stupified as they are by so many horrors, Mr. Mackintosh gives the following picture of those who were actors in those scenes of blood, and of whom the earth is not yet purified.

'Some of them, indeed—the basest of the race—the Sophists, the Rhetors, the Poet-laureats of murder—who were cruel only from cowardice, and calculating selfishness, are perfectly willing to transfer their venal pens to any government that does not disdain their infamous support. These men, republicans from servility, who published rhetorical panegyrics on massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring—I had almost said, the more respectable ruffians, cannot so easily bend their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have

not lost "*the unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate.*" They leave the luxuries of servitude to the mean and dastardly hypocrites, to the Belials and Mammons of the infernal faction. They pursue their old end of tyranny, under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power, renders every inferior condition irksome and vapid, and their former atrocities form, if I may so speak, a sort of moral destiny, which irresistibly impels them to the perpetration of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth; they labour under the most awful proscription of opinion that ever was pronounced against human beings. They have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men.—Awakened from their dreams of democracy, the noise subsided that deafened their ears to the voice of humanity; the film fallen from their eyes which hid from them the blackness of their own deeds; haunted by the memory of their inexpiable guilt, condemned daily to look on the faces of those whom their hand made widows and orphans, they are goaded and scourged by these real furies, and hurried into the tumult of new crimes, which will drown the cries of remorse; or, if they be too depraved for remorse, will silence the curses of mankind. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow creatures; murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit, but power and blood. If their hands are tied, they must at least have the luxury of murderous projects. They have drank too deeply of human blood, ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite.

'Such a faction exists in France. It is numerous: it is powerful; and it has a principle of fidelity stronger than any that ever held together a society. They are banded together by despair of forgiveness, by the unanimous detestation of mankind. They are now contained by a severe and stern government. But they still meditate the renewal of insurrection and massacre, and they are prepared to renew the worst and most atrocious of their crimes, that crime against posterity and against human nature itself; that crime, of which the latest generations of mankind may feel the fatal consequences—the crime of degrading and prostituting the sacred name of Liberty!

'I must own, that however paradoxical it may appear, I should almost think not worse, but more manly of them, if it were otherwise. I must then think them destitute of that, which I will not call courage, because that is the name of a virtue--but, of that ferocious energy which alone rescues ruffians from contempt. If they were destitute of that which is the heroism of murderers, they would be the lowest, as well as the most abominable of beings.' p. 115.

The most entertaining, and perhaps the most skilful characteristic of the speech, is a strong current of allusion to existing circumstances, which flows steadily through the whole of it. It would not, during the subsistence of peace, have been quite justifiable to have arraigned, under actual names and designations, those criminal enterprises of aggrandizement by which the warfare

of Europe is prolonged, and its prospects of political improvements retarded, if not ultimately endangered. But those schemes are shadowed out, and their present leader intelligibly pourtrayed, in the acts and under the appellations of Philip II. and Louis XIV. while an incitement to purer ambition and more illustrious emulation is conveyed by the consecrated names of Elizabeth, and Henry, and William. The passage, in which one of these instances is enforced, we cannot refuse to our readers; because it has been rendered still more closely applicable, both as a parallel and as an example, by the aspect which the political situation of this country has very recently assumed.

'The reign of Queen Elizabeth may be considered as the opening of the modern history of England, especially in its connection with the modern system of Europe, which began about that time to assume the form that it preserved till the French Revolution. It was a very memorable period, of which the maxims ought to be engraven on the head and heart of every Englishman. Philip II. at the head of the greatest empire then in the world, was openly aiming at universal dominion; and his project was so far from being thought chimerical by the wisest of his contemporaries, that, in the opinion of the great *Duc de Sully*, he must have been successful, 'if, by a most singular combination of circumstances, he had not at the same time been resisted by two such strong heads as those of Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth.' To the most extensive and opulent dominions, the most numerous and disciplined armies, the most renowned captains, the greatest revenue, he added also the most formidable power over opinion. He was the chief of a religious faction, animated by the most atrocious fanaticism, prepared to second his ambition by rebellion, anarchy, and regicide, in every Protestant state. Elizabeth was among the first objects of his hostility—That wise and magnanimous princess placed herself in the front of the battle for the liberties of Europe. Though she had to contend at home with his fanatical faction, which almost occupied Ireland, which divided Scotland, and was not of contemptible strength in England, she aided the oppressed inhabitants of the Netherlands in their just and glorious resistance to his tyranny; she aided Henry the Great in suppressing the abominable rebellion which anarchical principles had excited, and Spanish arms had supported in France, and, after a long reign of various fortune, in which she preserved her unconquered spirit through great calamities, and still greater dangers, she at length broke the strength of the enemy, and reduced his power within such limits as to be compatible with the safety of England, and of all Europe. Her only effectual ally was the spirit of her people; and her policy flowed from that magnanimous nature, which, in the hour of peril, teaches better lessons than those of cold reason. Her great heart inspired her with a higher and nobler wisdom—which disdained to appeal to the low

and sordid passions of her people, even for the protection of their low and sordid interests: because she knew, or rather she felt, that these are effeminate, creeping, cowardly, short-sighted passions, which shrink from conflict, even in defence of their own mean objects. In a righteous cause, she roused those generous affections of her people, which alone teach boldness, constancy, and foresight, and which are therefore the only safe guardians of the lowest, as well as the highest interests of a nation. In her memorable address to her army, when the invasion of the kingdom was threatened by Spain, this woman, of heroic spirit, disdained to speak to them of their ease, and their commerce, and their wealth, and their safety. No! she touched another chord—She spoke of their national honour, of their dignity as Englishmen, of "*the foul scorn that Parma or Spain* SHOULD DARE *to invade the borders of her realms.*" She breathed into them those grand and powerful sentiments, which exalt vulgar men into heroes, which lead them into the battle of their country armed with holy and irresistible enthusiasm, which even cover with their shield all the ignoble interests that base calculation, and cowardly selfishness, tremble to hazard, but shrink from defending. A sort of prophetic instinct, if I may so speak, seems to have revealed to her the importance of that great instrument, for rousing and guiding the minds of men, of the effects of which she had no experience; which, since her time, has changed the condition of the world; but which few modern statesmen have thoroughly understood, or wisely employed; which is no doubt connected with many ridiculous and degrading details; which has produced, and may again produce, terrible mischiefs; but of which the influence must after all be considered as the most certain effect of the most efficacious cause of civilization; and which, whether it be a blessing or a curse, is the most powerful engine that a politician can move—I mean the PRESS. It is a curious fact, that, in the year of the Armada, Queen Elizabeth caused to be printed the first Gazettes that ever appeared in England. And I own, when I consider that this mode of rousing a national spirit was then absolutely unexampled, that she could have no assurance of its efficacy from the precedents of former times, I am disposed to regard her having recourse to it, as one of the most sagacious experiments, one of the greatest discoveries of political genius, one of the most striking anticipations of future experience, that we find in history. I mention it to you, to justify the opinion that I have ventured to state, of the close connection of our national spirit with our press, and even with our periodical press. I cannot quit the reign of Elizabeth, without laying before you the maxims of her policy, in the language of the greatest and wisest of men. Lord Bacon, in one part of his discourse on her reign, speaks thus of her support of Holland: "But let me rest upon the honourable and continual aid and relief she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the Low Countries; a people, recommended unto her by ancient confederacy and daily intercourse, by their cause so in-

nocent, and their fortune so lamentable!" In another passage of the same discourse, he thus speaks of the general system of her foreign policy, as the protector of Europe, in words too remarkable to require any commentary: "Then it is her government, and her government alone, that hath been the sconce and fort of all Europe, which hath lett this proud nation from overrunning all. If any state be yet free from his factions erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state, wherein this faction is erected, that is not fired with civil troubles; if there be any state under his protection that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon which he tyrannizeth not; it is the mercy of this renowned Queen that standeth between them and their misfortunes." P. 148.

In leaving these extracts to the admiration of our readers, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret to have lately heard, that we are to be deprived, for a period, of the eloquence that can be thus powerfully employed in describing the grandest transactions, and asserting the most valuable interests, of civilized mankind Under another clime, and among the ruins of ancient refinement, it will indeed prove most interesting, to a mind which has deeply meditated the policy and revolutions of Europe, to study the far different frame of Asiatic laws, and, guided by the light of science, to trace the uniformity of our moral nature under the most artificial disguises, and amidst opposite extremes of variation. Nor ought we to forget the benefits imparted to that amiable, though remote portion of our fellow subjects, by strengthening and enlightening the judicial administration to which their municipal rights are entrusted; and which, from the half incorporated mixture of languages, and laws, and usages, requires qualifications of a much higher order than that of professional erudition. Yet, even for these important purposes, this is not a period when England, the last bulwark yet undemolished of popular government and of European independence, can easily spare a single advocate of genuine liberty, a single labourer in the philosophy of public affairs, a single genius that in this great and good old cause can command an influence over other minds. The genius, the labours, and the zeal of all, may not perhaps be more than sufficient to dispel the cloud that hangs over the world, and to open again upon our horizon, in its former brightness, the prospect that for a while has been obscured.

ART. XIX. *Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe and the Atlantic.* By Governor Pownall. London. Debrett. 1803.

WE with pleasure acknowledge the title which the author of this Memorial has to the respectful attention of the pub-

lic. As a politician and an author, he has been known for nearly half a century; and the counsels he delivered, both in and out of Parliament, at the period of the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and her American colonies, did honour to his character as a man, and his judgment as a politician. His conduct at that crisis appears neither to have been influenced by a deference to those in power, nor biassed by factious views; and as his opinions had no support from either of these sources, they appear to have made little impression upon his countrymen. With the powerful recommendation of the fulfilment of former predictions, Governor Pownall brings forward his speculations upon the present state of the nations of Europe and the Atlantic.

The Memorial is divided into three parts. The first part considers the changes which have taken place in Europe in consequence of the revolutionary spirit which has so long prevailed. We are told, that 'the remote causes of the present revolutionary and revolutionizing state of Europe have lain concealed for many ages back, as speculations in philosophy, and inexperienced visions in politics.' The first development of these causes, our author observes, took place in the Congress held by the Americans at Albany in the year 1754. Our author, who attended that congress, informs us, that a federal representative government was at that time planned. The subsequent establishment of that government in America is considered in the Memorial as not only the source, but in fact the beginning, of the revolutionary events which took place in Europe. A view is then given of the means taken by the combined powers to oppose the revolution; which, it is observed, had a direct tendency to produce the very state of things they were intended to prevent: The remarks made upon this subject do not appear either new or interesting. Our author afterwards enters into a discussion of the present state of the balance of power in Europe; the result of which is, that the old balance of power is dissolved, that the laws of nations have been set aside, and that France is a military monarchy established upon a systematic plan of conquest. The conclusion drawn is, that any balance of power which may hereafter be formed, must arise from the new state of nations.

The second part of the Memorial points out the system of external politics which ought to be adopted by Great Britain, and what the Governor calls the Atlantic States. He gives it as his decided opinion, that unless 'she is a determined dupe,' Great Britain will no longer attempt to meddle with the continental balance of power, the basis of which is destroyed. The European nations which the Governor includes under Atlantic States, are,

in the first place, Sweden and Denmark; which he considers as such from their position, their products, and their commerce. Portugal, possessing territories on both sides of the ocean, is also classed under that description. To that government, the project of removing from its European territories to Brazil, is strenuously recommended. It is said, that it might there establish a more powerful dominion than it ever enjoyed in Europe. Our author adds,

'This is not wild speculation, never thought of before: it has already been had in contemplation, and was once all put in motion in the minds and hands of those who might have carried it into execution; just as was once the removal of the States and Government of the United Provinces to Batavia. Portugal has at present a minister who perfectly knows the truth in fact of this idea; who is perfectly *au fait* to the means of carrying it into execution, and from local experience practically informed of the mode and means of giving establishment to such imperium in such dominions, and of giving such organization to the government of them as the site and circumstances of the people would there require, and would and could act under. But, alas! when spirit is dead, the best and most important truths become impracticable theory.' p. 54, 55.

The powers which our author considers as particularly adapted for this league are, Great Britain and America. This appears to have been a favourite project of Governor Pownall's many years ago. The means recommended for cementing the alliance are, the progressive removal of all commercial restrictions which subsist from the Navigation-act, or other causes, and a participation of both a *circuitous* and direct trade with the provinces and islands belonging to Great Britain, under certain restrictions. With a view to strengthen this alliance, it is recommended that these two states should co-operate in emancipating the Spanish colonies. These colonies, it is affirmed, are on the eve of insurrection and independence; and Mr. Pownall refers to a Memorial published in 1780, in which he pointed out the precarious hold which Spain had at that time over her colonies. In the passage of the former Memorial referred to, it is observed, that whenever a revolt takes place in Spanish America, it will not assume the same form which the revolution in North America did.

'The falling off of South America will be conducted, in its *natural* progress, by the spirit of some injured enterprising genius taking the lead of a sense of alienation, and of a disposition of revolt, to the establishment of a great monarchy.' p. 80.

This remark appears acute and enlightened. How far our author's information on the state of these provinces, is accurate,

we do not pretend to judge. The following passage shews that it has for some time been an object of attention.

'The maturity to which this spirit of independence had arrived, was attentively watched by this writer in its various periods. This hath, at various periods, and on divers occasions, broken out into actual insurrection, and in some parts into decided revolt.

In the Carraccas,	in	1750—1797
Quito,	—	1764
Mexico,	—	1773
Peru,	—	1781
Santa Fee,	—	1781—1796

Finding the above state of things confirmed by current and posterior events coming into fact, the writer of this was led to pursue and follow up the line of information of which he had the clue; and being, in consequence of this information, which it was known he was in possession of, and in consequence of a remembrance still remaining, in North-America, of the part he took in defending the political freedom and establishments of that country, applied to, in divers lines, to go into further considerations of the line by which this large portion of mankind might become emancipated from the *provincial external* government of Old Spain, as North America was from that of Great Britain,—he drew up a plan * * * *; and some years after, when an opportunity offered of forming that plan on really existing ground of fact, calling forth act; and when a proper occasion came forward to propose it for execution, he gave his assistance, not only in forming the measure by which this emancipation was to be attained, but formed the plan of an independent sovereign government, suited to the existing circumstances of the people and the country; clear of all democratic anarchy, on one hand, and secured against the dangers of despotism on the other. This he undertook and communicated, in its proper place, in the year 1790–1. The Government of Great Britain took this measure into consideration, and was on the point of carrying it into execution. The apprehension which this excited in the Spanish cabinet brought it to an accommodation on the business of Nootka Sound, and made the peace of that day. This has been for some time no secret at Paris or Madrid. It was not in the power of Spain to oppose its execution. France knew it was executable; and in the year 1792, entertained the project of taking the measure out of our hands, and of executing what they supposed Great Britain had relinquished. The writer of this has seen the plan, which he was informed was that which the French government of that time had adopted. It was not put in execution there; and Great Britain and Spain being then at peace, it was suspended here.' p. 80–83.

Our author declines giving the details of his plan. He however insinuates that the most perfect secrecy has not been preserved with regard to it.

'These matters, however, have been suffered, somehow, to transpire beyond their original bounds; an echo of it vibrated amongst the officers employed on the expedition to Holland; and we are told by Sir Robert Wilson, "that Italy and Spanish America for some time occupied Sir Ralph Abercrombie's attention," before he received orders to proceed to Egypt. That such a plan existed, is well known at Paris and at Madrid, and not unknown at Vienna. The French have lately suffered their writers to speculate openly and avowedly on these views of the emancipation of the Spanish provinces; and a Treatise on this subject, printed in America, has been addressed to the South Americans. Nay, more, since the signing of the preliminaries of the peace, the French put into provisional operation their plan of guaranty, founded in part on their treaty with Spain, and in part on their general plan of aggrandizement, by possession of the revenues and commerce of these Spanish provinces. If they had succeeded at St. Domingo, they would have proceeded with such troops as they could spare, and with such part of their fleet as they would have been permitted to sail with to these coasts; and would, *at this moment*, have had, *under the form of guaranty*, the command of the garrisons, and have been in possession of the revenue and commerce of the country.' p. 88. 89.

This revolution, it is said, will be easy and certain, provided assistance is given to these colonies, on honourable terms, without any view to deriving a revenue from, or attaining the sovereignty of the country. The emancipation of the Negro nations in the West-India islands is next considered as an event that must certainly take place; and the rapid consolidation of their power is predicted. The Memorialist, therefore, recommends making provision for that change, which we cannot prevent, and that these nations should be included in the Transatlantic alliance.—We shall not attempt a discussion of the different positions advanced in this part of the Memorial; as we could hardly do so, without increasing this article to a bulk nearly approaching to that of the Memorial itself. We shall only observe, that, even supposing that the position assumed, that this country can derive no security from any continental alliances, is well founded, we do not see how the alliance proposed would supply their place. That the trade and commerce of this country might be extended by such connections, is extremely probable, and the intercourse with these nations, would be little affected by continental wars. But surely neither the United States, nor any of those whose rise is predicted, could be expected to possess that common interest, that feeling of common danger, or the means of affording mutual assistance, which could make their alliance a substitute for the continental balance of power. If this country must be duped, if she reposes any confidence on engagements made by continental powers, she will probably be equally deceived, if

she relies for assistance, in the hour of distress, from nations on the other side of the Atlantic. In a commercial point of view, Mr. Pownall's suggestion may be important; and we cannot help admiring the confident and systematic manner in which he provides for the events which he predicts; which, to common observers, appear uncertain and remote. His account of the state of the Spanish colonies depends upon private information, which is not laid before the public. We therefore hazard no conjectures on that subject. We must, however, express some doubt with regard to the prudent and prosperous governments which the negro nations are so soon to establish in the West Indies. Even if they shall attain a state of independence, the establishment of a regular government will have many obstacles to encounter. It will not be easy to guarantee these nations from the danger of constant domestic dissentions, which will put an end to the habits of industry, destroy the traces of civilization which they have acquired from their masters, and in the course of a few years reduce them to a state of African barbarism.

In justice to our author, we must observe, that he is by no means sanguine with regard to the adoption of his plans, or its efficacy in the present state of affairs. He concludes the second part of his Memorial with observing—

'The Executive of this country has feared nothing so much, nor rejected any thing more decidedly, for six-and-thirty years, than the interposition of advice founded on the system in which the interest, and even the existence of it is involved; whilst the Executive of the government of France is going on under the advice of a regular progressive system, which advances every day, and will, nay must, produce its desired and full effect.

'After all, the writer of this should confess, for it is too true, that, in our present derelict state, and since the time which was open to practical efficiency has been suffered to go by neglected, he has not any assured confidence in the efficacy of any measure which may be now proposed, and which the Atlantic powers are now likely to take up and engage in, equal to meet the danger which menaces them, and will come upon them.

'However—*de republicâ non desperandum*—he therefore endeavours to trace a line to which some future hope may point its view.' p. 99. 100.

The internal relations of states, and the effect which the Revolution has had upon them, is reserved for the third part of this Memorial. We are told, that those who are accustomed to the administration of political affairs,

—'must see, and from experience must know, that a *great change is taking place and coming forward, as in the spirit and temper of men,*

so in the principles by which the system of political establishments can move and act; and that operations of these principles continue their movement in a regular progressive course. Howsoever men may shut their eyes to this crisis; howsoever they may endeavour to conceal it from others—it *is a fact in event.*' p. 107. 108.

This is attributed to the prevalence of systems of delusive liberty and impracticable equality. To remove them our author enters into a discussion of the social compact, more impenetrably obscure than any we recollect to have met with on the subject; and, as the same obscurity is preserved to the end of this Memorial, we must confess we have not been able to form any precise idea of the nature of the remedy suggested. As some apology for want of apprehension, we must observe, that throughout the whole Memorial, our author betrays a most unfortunate predilection for scientific metaphors. Every thing is described in terms borrowed from astronomy, geometry, logic, or chemistry; and the analogies suggested are carefully followed out. One state, we are told, has 'her orbit disturbed;' another is 'eccentric to its system, and verges to a foreign centre;' others are actuated by an 'external predestinating will.' This language does not tend to illustrate the plainest part of the subject; but where ideas, in themselves sufficiently vague and obscure, are described through the medium of 'combined attractions,' 'equilibriums,' 'monad particles,' 'poises,' 'vortexes,' 'primaries and satellites,' it requires a very uncommon degree of discernment to disentangle the author's meaning. We are assured, that the author does not reason from metaphors. They are, however, so much incorporated with his argument, and there is so little precision in the language used after the metaphor is laid aside, that, in most cases, it is difficult to form a clear idea of his meaning; and, in others, we cannot help suspecting that the argument is accommodated to the metaphor, instead of being illustrated by it. The abstract argument on the nature of the balance of power, (p. 39), that, it must consist of an equilibrium of *three*, fixed on a common centre, cannot be attributed to any other source. Another instance of this occurs. After comparing the tendency to revolutionary principles to combustion, warning persons not to consider the flame as extinguished, though we do not see it burning, the author delivers the *recipe* for it in the same language. It is, that the state

—'must by some dissolvent, by some counteracting elective atractions, first loosen the parts of this combustible, and then, by a kind of political chemistry, draw out the *calorique*; otherwise, it will neither be extinguished nor compressed, *but must, in spite of all policy, of all force, explode.*' p. 144. 145.

We expected to have been told what this dissolvent was, and what was the political chemistry that would draw out the caloric. This, however, is by no means the case; as, even where the metaphor is dropt, we are left in equal uncertainty as to the nature of the Governor's plans. We should not have thought it necessary to point out these defects, had they not been of a nature which must materially interfere with the general design of the publication; as we were by no means disposed to criticise the *style* of a work, which must derive its importance chiefly from the experience and reputation of its author, and the success of his former predictions.

ART. XX. *The Temple of Nature; or the Origin of Society:* A Poem, with Philosophical Notes. By Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. Author of the Botanic Garden, of Zoonomia, and of Phytologia. London. 1803. 4to. pp. 300.

THE work which we are now to review, seems to have been fully prepared for the press before the death of the author; and it certainly derives an additional and melancholy interest, from its appearance as the parting legacy of a writer from the exertion of whose splendid talents we have formerly derived very high gratification. Yet, if we were to judge only from the first impressions which were made by the early productions of Dr. Darwin's muse, and from the force with which they caught the public attention, we should probably overrate the eagerness and impatience with which the greater number of readers will now be drawn to listen to his dying notes. Only a few years have elapsed, since the genius of the author of 'the Botanic Garden' first burst on the public notice in all its splendour. The novelty of his plan—an imposing air of boldness and originality in his poetical as well as philosophical speculations—and a striking display of command over some of the richest sources of poetical embellishment, were sufficient to secure to him a large share of approbation, even from the most fastidious readers, and much more than sufficient to attract the gaze and the indiscriminating acclamations of a herd of admirers and imitators. Yet, with all these pretensions to permanent fame, we are much deceived, if we have not already observed, in that of Dr. Darwin, the visible symptoms of decay. Whether, in consequence of more sober and chastened reflection, or from mere caprice, or from whatever other cause it may have proceeded, his beauties seem to have quickly palled upon the public taste; and his decline from the exalted place he once appeared to hold, has been unhappily ac-

celerated by the ridicule of tasteless and impotant imitation. Still, however, we presume, that the former admirers of Dr. Darwin's poetry will turn with some degree of pleasing expectation to this posthumous work; and though we are very far from thinking that it is likely to produce any new fluctuation of opinion, we may safely promise them the satisfaction of recognizing the same characteristic manner, and some of the same peculiar excellencies, which distinguish his former compositions. At the same time we feel little hesitation in stating, that, 'the Temple of Nature' appears to us, in poetical excellence, to fall far short of 'the Botanic Garden;' and that, without possessing an equal share of beauties, its defects are more frequent and obtrusive.

In estimating the merits of Dr Darwin's work, it is difficult, and perhaps would be improper, to separate the characters of the poet and the philosopher. His larger poems are all of the didactic class; and seem to have been designed as the vehicles of such parts of his philosophical speculations, as were the most susceptible of poetical illustration and embellishment. In a short preface, the author has informed us that 'the poem, which is here offered to the public, does not pretend to instruct by deep researches of reasoning; its aim is simply to amuse, by bringing distinctly to the imagination the beautiful and sublime images of the operations of nature, in the order, as the author believes, in which the progressive course of time presented them.' From this declaration, the reader might probably be induced to expect nothing more than a description of some of the *known* phenomena of nature, exhibited in detached compartments, and bound together by no other connexion than might be necessary to aid the imagination in its transitions from one subject to another. On a slight inspection, however, it will be found, that in his delineations of nature, the author does not restrain himself within the narrow bounds of observation; that he again returns to the confines of Chaos and Old Night, from which he had escaped with so much labour in his former poem; and that, instead of copying from the great volume of Nature which now lies open to our view, he fondly attempts to penetrate the veil which must for ever conceal her mysteries from mortal eye, and affects to disclose, with all the confidence of an observer, an imaginary order and progress of things, from sluggish and unorganized matter, upwards, into living, intelligent, and moral existence. In a word, those who are at all acquainted with the writings of Dr. Darwin, will be at no loss to discover, that 'the Temple of Nature, is, in *substance,* little else than some of the wildest theories of the 'Zoonomia' done into verse, and divest-

vested of those subordinate and collateral discussions which form the most valuable part of that ingenious but fanciful work.

Considered as a whole, it seems to possess a sufficient degree both of philosophical and poetical unity. The origin of human society, or the formation of a race of beings with qualities and attributes to fit them for uniting into a social state, may be considered as the general theme which he proposes to explain; and in doing so, he has attempted to shew, that the object has been accomplished solely by the slow and spontaneous operation of certain primary and general laws impressed on rude matter by the great Author of nature. In this undertaking, he cannot be accused of timidity: but that he might not be loaded with the charge of undue presumption, he has provided a suitable machinery to give force and authority to his doctrines. After a very general statement of his subject, and an address to 'Immortal Love,' which in a poem '*de natura rerum*' could not with decency be omitted, we are introduced to the Temple of Nature, which the poet has had the good fortune to discover on the ancient site of the Mosaic Paradise, and which he has taken care to make sufficiently vast and capacious, for the reception of all sorts of imaginary beings, clean and unclean. Among the crowd the reader will have the pleasure of meeting again with a most respectable assemblage of bright Nymphs, recumbent Beauties, unclad Graces, gay Desires, besides young Dione and her quiver'd Loves, with all of whom he must have before contracted an intimate acquaintance, under the auspices of Dr. Darwin. The goddess herself is the only new figure in the group; and perhaps the reader may agree with us, that novelty is not the only circumstance in her appearance which may be apt to startle a stranger.

'Shrin'd in the midst, majestic NATURE stands,
Extends o'er earth and sea her hundred hands;
Tower upon tower her beamy forehead crests,
And births unnumbered milk her hundred breasts:
Drawn round her brows a lucid veil depends,
O'er her fine waist the purfled woof descends;
Her stately limbs the gather'd folds surround,
And spread their golden selvage on the ground.'

CANTO I. l. 129.

In a morning procession of nymphs to the temple, which is led by Urania, or the Priestess of Nature, the muse rather abruptly presents herself and implores the 'fair hierophant' to withdraw the 'mystic veil,' and disclose the hidden plan of Nature, in the formation of her animated works. This request is, of course, instantly complied with; and the remainder of the poem proceeds, in the words of the Hierophant, interrupted only by a few pertinent

questions, or a few supplementary illustrations which had occurred to the muse herself.

The first of four cantos, into which the poem is divided, is entitled 'Production of Life;' and apart from the machinery which is thus employed to give it poetical effect, it contains little more than an exposition of the author's favourite hypothesis of the gradual process of Nature in the formation of organized and living matter, by the spontaneous operation of chemical laws and affinities. Reasoning analogically from the growth of individual animals, and the successive changes of being through which they are seen to pass, he seems to think himself warranted in concluding that there are no fixed or insurmountable boundaries between the different species of animals; that the more perfect animals differ from the less perfect only in having arrived at a more advanced stage in the spontaneous evolution of those original energies which have been bestowed in common upon all;—and that hence, by a fair deduction, we shall arrive at the origin of our own nature, merely by descending along the scale of animal existence, till we find ourselves at the natural zero, where the transition from unorganized to organized matter is supposed to shew itself in the rudest and most minute of the microscopic animalcula.

In stating this general outline of Dr. Darwin's theory, we do not feel the slightest provocation to enter into any serious inquiry either as to its originality or its truth. Whatever may be its merits in other respects, we believe that it is not of a kind to lose much of its native dignity and importance, by exchanging the severe and simple garb of science for the thin and gaudy draperies of fancy. As a specimen, we shall select the first that occurs; and we leave it to others to decide, whether, as a grave philosophical hypothesis, it could possibly be improved by the flattest translation into prose.

> First HEAT from chemic dissolution springs,
> And gives to matter its eccentric wings;
> With strong repulsion parts the exploding mass,
> Melts into lymph, or kindles into gas;
> Attraction next, as earth or air subsides,
> The ponderous atoms from the light divides,
> Approaching parts with quick embrace combines,
> Swells into spheres, and lengthens into lines.
> Last, as fine goads the gluten threads excite,
> Cords grapple cords, and webs with webs unite;
> And quick CONTRACTION with ethereal flame
> Lights into life the fibre-woven frame.
> Hence, without parent, by spontaneous birth
> Rise the first specks of animated earth:

From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims;
And buds or breathes, with microscopic limbs.

'In earth, sea, air, around, below, above,
Life's subtle woof in Nature's loom is wove;
Points glued to points, a living line extends,
Touch'd by some goad approach the bending ends;
Rings join to rings, and irritated tubes
Clasp with young lips the nutrient globes or cubes;
And urged by appetencies new select,
Imbibe, retain, digest, secrete, eject.
In branching cones the living web expands,
Lymphatic ducts, and convoluted glands;
Aortal tubes propel the nascent blood,
And lengthening veins absorb the refluent flood;
Leaves, lungs, and gills, the vital ether breathe
On earth's green surface, or the waves beneath.
So Life's first powers arrest the winds and floods,
To bones convert them, or to shells, or woods;
Stretch the vast beds of argil, lime, and sand,
And from diminish'd oceans form the land!

'Next the long nerves unite their silver train,
And young SENSATION permeates the brain;
Through each new sense the keen emotions dart,
Flush the young cheek, and swell the throbbing heart.
From pain and pleasure quick VOLITIONS rise,
Lift the strong arm, or point the enquiring eyes;
With Reason's light bewilder'd Man direct,
And right and wrong with balance nice detect.
Last in thick swarms ASSOCIATIONS spring,
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cling;
Whence in long trains of catenation flow
Imagin'd joy, and voluntary woe,'

CANTO I. l. 235.

In the second canto, after alluding to the operation of 'chemic strife' in resolving the elements of organic matter, the Priestess of Nature proceeds to unfold the remedy which is spontaneously wrought; and in a train of similar reasonings, supported by similar analogies, she traces the progressive advancement of animals through the successive stages, first of the solitary, and secondly of the sexual reproduction of their respective kinds. Nor do the salutary tendencies of this new direction of the laws of motion stop short here, but bring along with them the most astonishing physical improvements of the individual, and the consequent evolution of the parental and connubial affinities, 'the first and second chains of society.' That our readers may share with us the benefit

of these precious discoveries, we will indulge them with the author's theory of the transition from solitary to sexual reproduction.

'In these lone births no tender mothers blend
Their genial powers to nourish or defend;
No nutrient streams from Beauty's orbs improve
These orphan babes of solitary love:
Birth after birth the line unchanging runs,
And fathers live transmitted in their sons;
Each passing year beholds the unvarying kinds,
The same their manners and the same their minds.
Till, as ere long successive buds decay,
And insect-shoals successive pass away,
Increasing wants the pregnant parents vex
With the fond wish to form a softer sex;
Whose milky rills with pure ambrosial food
Might charm and cherish their expected brood.
The potent wish in the productive hour
Calls to its aid Imagination's power,
O'er embryon throngs with mystic charm presides,
And sex from sex the nascent world divides,
With soft affections warms the callow trains,
And gives to laughing Love his nymphs and swains;
Whose mingling virtues interweave at length
The mother's beauty with the father's strength.'

CANTO II. l. 103.

The third canto, on 'the Progress of the Mind,' contains a physiological theory of the growth of the intellectual and moral faculties, by the development of what our author terms the *four sensorial powers* of irritation, sensation, volition, and association. Those who are acquainted with the former writings of Dr. Darwin, will here recognize the outlines of that fantastical theory of mind, which is given with more detail, and with much truly curious illustration in the 'Zoonomia.' To those who have not studied the original, any attempt to exhibit the metaphysical system of the author, in an abridged form, would be equally uninteresting and unsatisfactory. As a very favourable specimen of the poetry of this canto, we may transcribe the mythological descent of Celestial Love.

'Now on swift wheels descending like a star
Alights young Eros from his radiant car;
On angel-wings attendant Graces move,
And hail the God of Sentimental Love.
Earth at his feet extends her flowery bed,
And bends her silver blossoms round his head;
Dark clouds dissolve, the warring winds subside,
And smiling Ocean calms his tossing tide,

O'er the bright morn meridian lustres play
And heaven salutes him with a flood of day.'

'Warm as the sun beam, pure as driven snows,
The enamoured God for young Dione glows;
Drops the still tear, with sweet attention sighs,
And woos the Goddess with adoring eyes;
Marks her white neck beneath the gauze's fold,
Her ivory shoulders, and her locks of gold;
Drinks with mute ecstacy the transient glow,
Which warms and tints her bosom's rising snow,
With holy kisses wanders o'er her charms,
And clasps the Beauty in Platonic arms.
Or, if the dewy hands of Sleep unbid,
O'er her blue eye-balls close the lovely lid,
Watches each nascent smile, and fleeting grace,
That plays in day-dreams o'er her blushing face:
Counts the fine mazes of the curls, that break
Round her fair ear, and shade her damask cheek;
Drinks the pure fragrance of her breath, and sips
With tenderest touch the roses of her lips;—
O'er female hearts with chaste seduction reigns,
And binds Society in silken chains.'

CANTO III. l. 177.

In these three cantos, the author may be said to have completed his design, in so far as it embraced the development of those principles which ultimately lead to the social connexion, and are the foundation of that varied happiness of which an animated, intelligent, and moral being is susceptible. But the benign operation of these principles is by no means unmixed, and seems to be incumbered, or to bring along with it an admixture of evil, the origin of which has furnished one of the most perplexing questions which can exercise the ingenuity of man. This is the professed subject of the fourth canto: But, with less than his usual hardiness, the author evades the solution of the problem, and contents himself with a statement which is intended to shew that, on the balance of good and evil, the former greatly preponderates;—that the physical and moral evils incident to man are more than compensated by the various enjoyments attached to the exercise of *sensorial power*;—and that the constant destruction of organic life finds an adequate remedy in the constant reproduction of it in new forms. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that though all this be true, the difficulty would still remain nearly as formidable as ever.—But whatever may be thought of this or any other of the abstract speculations of Dr. Darwin, it would be an injustice to the character of the author not to acknowledge, that here, as in every other part of his writings, his

views are pure, amiable and benevolent. Amidst the freedom of our criticisms on the writer, we should bestow this tribute to the man with unmixed satisfaction, did it not forcibly bring to our recollection, that now, alas! he is equally beyond the reach of our censure or our praise.

In the discussion of his arduous and diversified subject, it is obvious that Dr. Darwin did not intend to fetter himself by the stricter rules of philosophical connexion and arrangement. While a general object is kept in view, his course in the pursuit of it is not meant to be always direct or steady; and it never restrains him from any collateral excursion where variety or amusement are likely to be found. Nor are these rambles confined to the poetical part of the work. Whenever he despairs of subduing the natural ruggedness of his matter, and of clothing it with the embellishments of fancy, he presents it to his reader in the form of a note or dissertation; and in this manner he has easily contrived to give ample scope to his speculations on a great variety of subjects. Of the 'additional notes,' independently of those more immediately subservient to the illustration of the text, the most considerable are, 'A Chemical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism;'—'An Analysis of Taste;'—'The Theory and Structure of Language;'—and an 'Analysis of Articulate Sounds.' On topics such as these, it may be presumed that Dr. Darwin will display a great deal of his usual ingenuity and acuteness; at the same time it appears to us that these dissertations in prose, as well as every other part of the volume, in so far as it lays claim to the character of a philosophical work, are deeply marked with all the grossest faults of his former philosophical writings.

It requires no stretch of candour to admit, that Dr. Darwin was possessed of talents, which, under happier and more judicious direction, might have ensured very great advances in scientific investigation. To great acuteness of observation he joined a singular degree of ingenuity in the combination of particular facts; and with such powers he could scarcely fail of occasional success in attaining original, extensive, and commanding views of his subject. At the same time, his most devoted admirers will hardly venture to dispute that his successes bear no considerable proportion to the number or boldness of his attempts. The causes of these failures do not appear to us to lie very deep; and a few general remarks, in this point of view, on the character of Dr. Darwin's philosophical writings, will supersede a more minute examination of the particular dogmas which form the groundwork of the volume before us.

The fundamental error, which appears to us to pervade and infect the whole of Dr. Darwin's scientific speculations, is a pre-

sumptuous contempt, or perhaps a gross ignorance of the legitimate bounds of philosophical inquiry. It may justly excite astonishment, that after all that has been taught on the rules of sound philosophizing ever since the days of Bacon, and after the noble examples of their successful application, especially in the physical sciences, which have been exhibited to the imitation of philosophers, there should still be found so many lamentable instances of the waste of genius, in the pursuit of false or unattainable objects. Of these instances we consider Dr. Darwin as decidedly the most notorious and most lamentable that has lately occurred. In his attempts to investigate the phenomena of matter, as well as of mind, it is but rarely indeed that we ever find him proceeding in the legitimate road of observation, by which alone it is given to man to penetrate even those parts of nature that are most within his reach; and it can occasion no surprise, that by thus deserting the only sure guide to discovery, he should often insensibly wander into that forbidden ground where observation and discovery are no longer practicable. It is in the choice of such a course that the disgrace of failure consists; for powers of a much higher order than those of Dr. Darwin, when so misdirected, could not have secured a more fortunate issue.

Another error, nearly a-kin to that we have been describing, but which deserves particular notice, as fatally characterizing many of the metaphysical speculations of Dr. Darwin, arises from constantly blending and confounding together the two distinct sciences of matter and of mind. In this censure, we would not be understood as referring directly to that hypothesis of materialism, which is everywhere assumed by him with the utmost confidence. Ignorant as we are of the nature of matter, beyond a few of its sensible qualities, it would be rash and idle to limit dogmatically the modifications of which it may be susceptible. For similar reasons, indeed, we cannot but regard it as still more rash and unphilosophical, to assert the identity of substances between the known qualities and attributes of which no sameness or analogy have yet been recognized; and in the present state of our knowledge, we should certainly esteem it more rational to adopt that sceptical theory, which rejects the evidence of an alleged identity between matter and the principle of thought, and which rather holds that, in so far as we have any evidence applicable to the question, it tends to the contrary conclusion. But the objection we have here in view, is not aimed at the dogmatical opinions of Dr. Darwin on the nature of mind, but alludes to a favourite mode of investigation which is completely unphilosophical, inasmuch as it attempts to trace the

laws of thought, through the medium of those laws which are solely applicable to unthinking matter. Whatever diversity of opinions may prevail as to the nature of mind, this at least must on all hands be admitted, that there is a class of phenomena, of which our knowledge is derived solely from consciousness: and it appears to us an intuitive proposition, that all our speculations on the laws of these phenomena must be ultimately drawn from the same source. There is another great class of phenomena, of which our knowledge is derived solely from external observation; and from that source, in like manner, must all our speculations respecting them be of necessity derived. We are not *conscious* of the laws which regulate the material world; and no man in his senses ever dreamt of discovering those laws, by turning his thoughts inward upon themselves, any more than, by a similar process, of adding a cubit to his stature. In reversing the process there seems to be as little propriety, and as little prospect of success This, however, has been on most occasions the favourite practice of Dr Darwin; and it is by thus confounding the investigations of physiology and of metaphysics, that he appears to us to have lost himself in that gulph which will probably for ever separate the sciences of matter and of mind. It is no doubt true, that, between the two parts of our constitution, there is a constant action and re-action; and the laws which regulate that connexion form of themselves a curious and interesting subject of inquiry. In the investigation of these laws, though the lights which are derived from the two different sources we have mentioned, may be sometimes thrown together upon the different parts of a complex phenomenon, yet they can never be suffered to cross or become blended with each other, without violating a fundamental principle of physical as well as metaphysical science.

Under the influence of such mistaken views of the objects and methods of philosophical inquiry, it is evident that no superiority of talents could have secured him against ultimate failure; but, even independently of these considerations, Dr. Darwin's prospects of success in the pursuits of science do not appear to have been extremely promising. While we allow him the credit of much curious knowledge, and of great ingenuity in the application of it, it is impossible to deny that he frequently betrays a want of discernment in the proper evidence of facts, and a strange incapacity for strict inductive reasoning even from the facts he chooses to assume and bring together. He is ever aiming at the construction of a vast and comprehensive system, but with powers and preparation by no means equal to the task; and his puerile impatience for the completion of his design

leaves him but little room for nicety in the choice or compact arrangement of his materials. His ardent imagination and sanguine temper, seem to have supplied or concealed the real weakness of this slovenly workmanship; but his own confidence is rarely of a kind to inspire others with the feeling of security. His reader may sometimes be fascinated with the boldness and originality of his views; but the strongest impression which usually remains, is, that the author's genius was better fitted to catch what he has himself called, 'the looser analogies which dress out the imagery of poetry,' than to trace the 'stricter ones which form the ratiocination of philosophy.' If his fame be destined in any thing to outlive the fluctuating fashion of the day, it is on his merit as a poet that it is likely to rest; and his reveries in science have probably no other chance of being saved from oblivion, but by having been 'married to immortal verse.'

We have ventured already to express our opinion of the inferiority of the 'Temple of Nature,' in poetical excellence, to the 'Botanic Garden.' In the choice of his subject, it does not appear to us that he laboured under any comparative disadvantage. In many respects it approaches very closely to that of the poem of Lucretius; and, in point of interest, as well as capability of varied description and embellishment, it possesses obvious advantages over the metaphorical adventures of the vegetable kingdom. There is, however, a disadvantage of another kind, which in perusing the 'Temple of Nature' it is impossible for a moment to lose sight of: it is unhappily posterior in date, and both its beauties and blemishes are of a kind which constantly remind us of those of the Botanic Garden, and as constantly suggest the idea of imperfect imitation. Although the tendency to repetition is by no means confined to the poetry of the volume, it is not to the poverty or decay of genius that we are disposed to impute this appearance of sameness: and we rather suspect that it is inseparably connected with the peculiar cast of Dr. Darwin's poetical manner. In the language of painters, Dr. Darwin is decidedly a mannerist; and mannerism is a quality which, to say the least of it, is easily exhaustible.

In analyzing the peculiar characters of Dr. Darwin's poetry, we are fortunately assisted by the exposition he has given of his own poetical creed. In one of the critical 'Interludes' of the 'Botanic Garden,' he has informed his 'Bookseller,' that, 'next to the measure of the language, the principal distinction between poetry and prose appears to consist in this, that poetry admits of but few words expressive of very abstracted ideas, whereas prose abounds with them. And as our ideas derived from visible objects are more distinct than those derived from the objects of our other senses, the words expressive of these ideas belonging

to vision make up the principal part of poetic language. Mr. Pope has written a bad verse in the Windsor Forest,

'And Kennet swift, for silver eels *renown'd*.'

The word renown'd does not present the idea of a visible object to the mind, and is thence prosaic. But change this line thus,

'And Kennet swift, where silver graylings *play*,'

it becomes poetry, because the scenery is then brought before the eye.'

In the hands of Dr. Darwin this theory has not remained an idle speculation: it appears to have had a powerful influence on the formation of his poetical habits, and may be regarded as the grand source of the beauties and defects which most strongly characterise the whole of his poetry. In all his delineations of external nature, his skill is directed to produce, not an *impressive* but a *picturesque* effect: every circumstance is selected, and every epithet is sought for, which may bring out the object *directly* to the eye; and the most glowing tints are thrown over the whole which the language of vision can supply. Where his subject does not in itself strictly belong to external and visible nature, but presents itself in a general or abstracted state, he scrupulously avoids ever shewing it in its native metaphysical nakedness, and his imagination is instantly employed to embody it in a material and visible shape. Bold metaphors, personifications and allegories, are his constant and sole resources; and in pourtraying the scenery of this fairy kingdom of his own creation, he adheres strictly to the principle of addressing himself directly and only to the eye. Nor does his propensity to metamorphosis stop here; but even in delineating inanimated external nature, her own graceful and varied forms seem too tame to catch his fancy, till they have been transformed into the living monsters of his own brain.

Few readers will deny that in following out his own views of poetical writing, Dr. Darwin has displayed very splendid talents; yet we are inclined to think that his own practice affords the most ample illustration of the errors of his theory. Like most other theories, it contains a certain portion of truth without embracing the whole; and the little it contains is rendered mischievous by the exclusion of the remainder. No body will dispute that mere *picturesque* effect may often be extremely pleasing, independently of every other consideration; but it is surely a very unjust limitation of the natural range of poetry, to consider it as solely or ultimately employed in the production of such effects. Its general aim is to produce a strong and pleasing *impression* through the medium of the fancy or of the passions and feelings; and among the most efficacious of the *means* that are so employed, the delineation

of visible forms may claim a very high, perhaps the highest, rank. But it is equally certain, that in poetry, very powerful impressions may be given by other means which cannot be reduced within the narrow rules which Dr. Darwin has imposed upon himself in the exercise of the poetical art; and it appears to us that by the proscription of abstract and general language, he has cast away an important instrument in exciting and interesting the feelings of his reader. It is true, indeed, that even in the representation and expression of the passions, a great deal may be borrowed from the language of vision; but, after very liberal allowance, a great deal will be found to remain, which is either of a different origin, or which, in its progress, has ceased to be felt as the vehicle of picturesque imagery.

As the greater part of Dr. Darwin's poetry is properly descriptive, he has of course suffered the less from this limitation of the natural range of poetical composition, and from thus affecting always to present his ideas in a visible form. But there are other evils attending it, by which he appears to us to have been more essentially injured, and which may be considered as directly counteracting and weakening even those *picturesque effects* he is ever ambitious of producing. The outlines of his figures are often drawn with astonishing strength and accuracy; but, by employing only the language of vision, he has given them a certain hardness and coldness of execution; and, by foregoing the use of that which is addressed to the feeling, rather than to the eye, he has neglected to avail himself of those fine and fleeting circumstances and associations which are beyond the reach of the pencil, but which, in poetical painting, may be made to contribute powerfully towards the general impression. In the following well-known lines of Pope, there is an artful and successful combination of the *picturesque* and the *impressive.*

> 'But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,
> Long-sounding aisles, and intermingled graves,
> Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence and a dread repose:
> Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,
> Shades ev'ry flower, and darkens ev'ry green;
> Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,
> And breathes a browner horror on the woods.'

These lines have been happily imitated by Dr. Darwin in his own manner; that is, with a view solely to the picturesque effect of a single, isolated figure. There is perhaps little doubt from which of the two a statuary would choose to copy: yet, we will venture to affirm, that, in general and impressive effect, the following lines fall short of their original:

'O'er the green floor, and round the dew-damp wall,
The slimy snail, and bloated lizard crawl;
While on white heaps of intermingled bones
The muse of Melancholy sits and moans;
Showers her cold tears o'er Beauty's early wreck,
Spreads her pale arms, and bends her marble neck.'

CANTO I. l. 119.

The limited system of Dr. Darwin is productive of additional and still more unsurmountable disadvantages in the delineation of those large and complicated groups which he labours so frequently to exhibit to the fancy of his reader. It seems impossible, merely by the language of vision, to give that due *keeping* or subordination of parts which is essential to true picturesque effect, and which on canvass is accomplished by those gradations of size and of colouring which the rules of perspective prescribe. The different parts are unavoidably presented, not in subordination, but in *succession;* and the effect would be nearly similar to that of an Indian screen, where all the figures are crowded into the foreground, without symmetry or arrangement, in the full glare of colouring, and dignity of natural dimension. Of this evil Dr. Darwin seems not to have been aware; and certainly in his own practice the most ample illustrations of it are afforded. It impairs, and sometimes destroys, the effect of his most elaborate descriptions, and leaves on the mind little less than a confused dazzling and painful sensation. The evil is perhaps inseparable from the nature of the medium employed in poetical description—but at least it admits of palliation by the skilful intermixture of those more indirect modes of suggestion which address the fancy through the feelings; and by thus bringing forward directly into view the principal figure, while the subordinate parts of the composition are suffered to remain, as it were, in the indistinctness and dimness of distance.

The most partial admirers of Dr. Darwin's poetry will probably confess that they experience a certain monotonous effect, which gradually fatigues and disgusts, and renders a continued perusal almost intolerable. The circumstance is extremely mortifying; but it is plainly connected in part with the limited and mistaken notions of poetry which we have been considering. By addressing himself to the mind only through the medium of one of the external senses, the poet obviously deprives himself of vast resources for varying and diversifying the entertainment of his reader, and must be contented to ring the changes on ideas and words of a single class. But this monotony of manner is prodigiously increased by the use which it brings along with it of metaphor, personification, and allegory, the perpetual recurrence of which can be atoned for by no individual excellence. The

utmost fertility of poetical invention is circumscribed within limited bounds—and when every object, whether of the material or ideal world, is transmuted into some fantastical shape of the poet's brain, we need not be surprised, in this creation of monsters, to find the prodigal variety and beauty of nature lost in the poverty and formality of art.

A remark, somewhat analogous, may perhaps be applied to the diction of Dr. Darwin's poetry. It often has the merit of great splendour and dignity—but it is always remote from simplicity, and too often in the opposite extreme of unnatural affectation. It aims at an uniform grandeur and stateliness of march, but is frequently sustained only by meretricious ornament and pedantic inversion. It is to this cause that may in part be imputed that monotonous and tiresome effect in the poetry of Dr. Darwin, for which we have endeavoured to account. The style, which admits of the richest variety, is unquestionably that of which the primary and leading character is simplicity. Without suffering degradation, it admits of every diversity of becoming ornament; but where ornament is itself the primary and leading character, it is apt to disdain the association either of simplicity or variety. In attempting to lower its tone, it usually becomes groveling and ludicrous. The following lines may perhaps afford an apt illustration: the unhappy mixture of prosaic flatness, and of figurative bombast, need not be particularly pointed out.

'Hear, O ye Sons of Time! your final doom,
And read the characters that mark your tomb:
The marble mountain, and the sparry steep,
Were built by myriad nations of the deep,—
Age after age, who form'd their spiral shells,
Their sea-fan gardens and their coral cells;
Till central fires with unextinguished sway
Raised the primeval islands into day;—
The sand-fill'd strata stretched from pole to pole;
Unmeasur'd beds of clay, and marl, and coal,
Black ore of manganese, the zinky stone,
And dusky steel on his magnetic throne,
In deep morass, or eminence superb,
Rose from the wrecks of animal or herb:
These from their elements by Life combin'd,
Form'd by digestion, and in glands refin'd,
Gave by their just excitement of the sense
The Bliss of Being to the vital Ens.'

CANTO IV. l. 429.

The adoption and recurrence of a few favourite images and

phrases may likewise contribute its influence to the painful uniformity of Dr. Darwin's manner—but is only of subordinate importance. When future critics shall think fit to bestow their labour in detecting the sources of his imitations, they will be at no loss to discover the very liberal use he has made of the ideas and phrases of former poets: yet it is fair to add, that in his plagiarisms he has paid no greater respect to his own property than to that of his neighbours.

Among the peculiar characteristics of Dr Darwin's poetry, and the causes of that monotonous feeling of which his readers complain, we have sometimes heard the system of his versification stated as the chief. In this, however, we cannot agree. It is in this point that we consider him as most invulnerable: and the musical cadences of his verses appear to us as beautiful and as various as their general nature admits of. We have not overlooked his partiality to the trochaic foot at the commencement of his lines, and to one or two favourite and prevailing subdivisions of his couplets: But, without stopping to justify him by the authority of his greatest predecessors, it may be enough to say, that their recurrence is rarely more frequent than to produce an agreeable variety. It is in the structure of his sentences, and in the selection of his thoughts, not in the measurement of syllables, that his characteristic blemishes are to be traced.

We are aware, that in our criticisms on the literary merits of Dr. Darwin, we have been chiefly occupied in the invidious task of censure. Our apology will readily suggest itself. We are not insensible of the force of his claims to the praise of genius, and of various accomplishments: but his real deserts are not of a kind which lie hid from the general eye—while his blemishes are so intimately blended with his beauties, as often either to escape observation, or to attract injudicious applause. Perhaps few of his readers have, at all times, been on their guard against this dangerous fascination: and the mere caprice of fashion may have tended blindly to mislead a great many more. To have pointed out some of the characteristic faults of a writer who threatened at one time to establish a new sect in poetry, may not therefore be without its use. But though we would deprecate the adoption of his manner as a model for imitation, we should lament to see him robbed of his just portion of qualified praise: and we trust we shall be able often to recur with pleasure, certainly with pleasing recollections, to the 'splendid page' of Dr. Darwin.

ART. XXI. *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu:* Including her Correspondence, Poems, and Essays. Published, by permission, from her Original Papers. 5 vols. 8vo. London. 1803.

THESE volumes are so very entertaining, that we ran them all through immediately upon their coming into our possession—and at the same time contain so little that is either difficult or profound, that we may venture to give some account of them to our readers without farther deliberation.

The only thing that disappointed us in this publication, was the memoir of the writer's life, prefixed by the editor to her correspondence. In point of composition, it is very tame and inelegant, and rather excites than gratifies the curiosity of the reader, by the imperfect manner in which the facts are narrated. A biographer, employed by the surviving friends of his subject, cannot be presumed, indeed, to be altogether impartial; and an editor, who publishes the papers of a deceased lady *by permission* of her relations, must usually have their permission also for what he narrates of her history. As the letters themselves, however, are arranged in the chronological order, and commonly contain very distinct notices of the writer's situation, we shall be enabled, by our extracts from them, to give a pretty clear idea of her ladyship's life and adventures, with very little assistance from the meagre narrative of Mr. Dallaway.

Lady Mary Pierrepoint, eldest daughter of the Duke of Kingston, was born in 1690, and gave, in her early youth, such indications of a studious disposition, that she was initiated into the rudiments of the learned languages along with her brother. Her first years appear to have been spent in retirement—and yet the very first series of letters with which we are presented, indicates a great deal of that talent for ridicule, and power of observation, by which she afterwards became so famous and so formidable.—These letters (about a dozen in number) are addressed to Mrs. Wortley, the mother of her future husband; and, along with a good deal of girlish flattery and affectation, display such a degree of easy humour and sound penetration, as is not often to be met with in a damsel of nineteen, even in this age of precocity. The following letter in 1709, is written upon the misbehaviour of one of her female favourites.

'My knight-errantry is at an end—and I believe I shall henceforward think freeing of galley-slaves and knocking down windmills more laudable undertakings than the defence of any woman's reputation whatever. To say truth, I have never had any great esteem for the generality of the fair-sex; and my only consolation for being of that gender, has been the assurance it gave me of never being married to

any one among them; but I own, at present, I am so much out of humour with the actions of Lady H***, that I never was so heartily ashamed of my petticoats before. You know, I suppose, that by this discreet match she renounces the care of her children. And I am laughed at by all my acquaintance for my faith in her honour and understanding. My only refuge is, the sincere hope that she is out of her senses, and taking herself for Queen of Sheba, and Mr. Mildmay for King Solomon. I do not think it quite so ridiculous—but the men, you may well imagine, are not so charitable; and they agree in the kind reflection, that nothing hinders women from playing the fool, but not having it in their power.' Vol. i. pp. 180-181.

We may add the following description of her Yorkshire beaux, written in the year after.

'In the first form of these creatures, is even Mr. Vanburgh. Heaven, no doubt, compassionating our dullness, has inspired him with a passion that makes us all ready to die with laughing. 'Tis credibly reported, that he is endeavouring at the honourable state of matrimony, and vows to lead a sinful life no more. Whether pure holiness inspires his mind, or dotage turns his brain, is hard to find. 'Tis certain he keeps Monday and Thursday market (*assembly* day) constantly; and for those that don't regard wordly muck, there's extraordinary good choice indeed. I believe last Monday there were two hundred pieces of woman's flesh (fat and lean)—but you know Van's taste was always odd: his inclination to ruins has given him a fancy for Mrs. Yarborrough. He sighs and ogles so, that it would do your heart good to see him; and she is not a little pleased, in so small a proportion of men amongst such a number of women, that a whole man should fall to her share.' Vol. i. pp. 193-194.

In the course of this correspondence with the mother, Lady Mary appears to have conceived a very favourable opinion of the son; and the next series of letters contains her ante-nuptial correspondence with that gentleman, from 1710 to 1712. Though this correspondence has interested and entertained us as much at least as any thing in the whole book, we are afraid that it will afford but little gratification to the common admirers of love letters. Her Ladyship, though endowed with a very lively imagination, seems not to have been very susceptible of violent or tender emotions, and to have imbibed a very decided contempt for sentimental and romantic nonsense, at an age which is commonly more indulgent. There are no raptures nor ecstacies, therefore, in these letters; no flights of fondness, nor vows of constancy, nor upbraidings of capricious affection. To say the truth, her Ladyship acts a part in this correspondence that is not often allotted to a female performer. Mr. Wortley though captivated by her beauty

and her vivacity, seems evidently to have been a little alarmed at her love of distinction, her propensity to satire, and the apparent inconstancy of her attachments. Such a woman, he was afraid, would make rather an uneasy and extravagant companion to a man of plain understanding and moderate fortune; and he had sense enough to foresee, and generosity enough to explain to her, the risk to which their mutual happiness would be subjected by a rash and indissoluble union. Lady Mary, who probably saw her own character in a different light, and was at any rate biassed by her inclinations, appears to have addressed a great number of letters to him upon this occasion, and to have been at considerable pains to relieve him of his scruples, and restore his confidence in the substantial excellencies of her character. These letters, which are written with a great deal of female spirit and masculine sense impress us with a very favourable notion of the talents and disposition of the writer; and as they exhibit her in a point of view altogether different from any in which she has hitherto been presented to the public, we shall venture upon a pretty long extract.

'I thought to return no answer to your letter; but I find I am not so wise as I thought myself. I cannot forbear fixing my mind a little on that expression, though perhaps the only insincere one in your whole letter—I would die to be secure of your heart, though but for a moment:—were this but true, what is there I would not do to secure you?

'I will state the case to you as plainly as I can; and then ask yourself, if you use me well. I have shewed, in every action of my life, an esteem for you, that at least challenges a grateful regard. I have trusted my reputation in your hands: I have made no scruple of giving you, under my own hand, an assurance of my friendship. After all this, I exact nothing from you: if you find it inconvenient for your affairs to take so small a fortune, I desire you to sacrifice nothing to me; I pretend no tie upon your honour; but, in recompence for so clear and so disinterested a proceeding, must I ever receive injuries and ill-usage?

'I have not the usual pride of my sex; I can bear being told I am in the wrong, but tell it me gently. Perhaps I have been indiscreet; I came young into the hurry of the world; a great innocence, and an undesigning gaiety, may possibly have been construed coquetry, and a desire of being followed, though never meant by me. I cannot answer for the observations that may be made on me; all who are malicious attack the careless and defenceless: I own myself to be both. I know not any thing I can say more to shew my perfect desire of pleasing you, and making you easy, than to proffer to be confined with you in what manner you pleased. Would any woman but me renounce all the world for one? or would any man but you be insensible of such a proof of sincerity?' Vol. i. pp. 208-210.

'One part of my character is not so good, nor t'other so bad, as you fancy it. Should we ever live together, you would be disappointed both ways; you would find an easy equality of temper you do not expect, and a thousand faults you do not imagine. You think if you married me, I should be passionately fond of you one month, and of somebody else the next. Neither would happen. I can esteem, I can be a friend; but I don't know whether I can love. Expect all that is complaisant and easy, but never what is fond, in me. You judge very wrong of my heart, when you suppose me capable of views of interest, and that any thing could oblige me to flatter any body. Was I the most indigent creature in the world, I should answer you as I do now, without adding or diminishing. I am incapable of art, and 'tis because I will not be capable of it. Could I deceive one minute, I should never regain my own good opinion; and who could bear to live with one they despised!

'If you can resolve to live with a companion that will have all the deference due to your superiority of good sense, and that your proposals can be agreeable to those on whom I depend, I have nothing to say against them.

'As to travelling, 'tis what I should do with great pleasure, and could easily quit London upon your account; but a retirement in the country is not so disagreeable to me, as I know a few months would make it tiresome to you. Where people are tied for life, 'tis their mutual interest not to grow weary of one another. If I had all the personal charms that I want, a face is too slight a foundation for happiness. You would be soon tired with seeing every day the same thing. Where you saw nothing else, you would have leisure to remark all the defects; which would increase in proportion as the novelty lessened, which is always a great charm. I should have the displeasure of seeing a coldness, which, though, I could not reasonably blame you for, being involuntary, yet it would render me uneasy; and the more, because I know a love may be revived, which absence, inconstancy, or even infidelity, has extinguished; but there is no returning from a dégoût given by satiety. Vol. i. pp. 212-214.

'I begin to be tired of my humility; I have carried my complaisances to you farther than I ought. You make new scruples; you have a great deal of fancy; and your distrusts, being all of your own making, are more immoveable than if there were some real ground for them. Our aunts and grandmothers always tell us, that men are a sort of animals, that if ever they are constant, 'tis only where they are ill-used. 'Twas a kind of paradox I could never believe: experience has taught me the truth of it. You are the first I ever had a correspondence with; and, I thank God, I have done with it for all my life. You needed not to have told me you are not what you have been: one must be stupid not to find a difference in your letters. You seem, in one part of your last, to excuse yourself from having done me any injury in point of fortune. Do I accuse you of any?

'I have not spirits to dispute any longer with you. You say you are not determined. Let me determine for you, and save you the trouble of writing again. Adieu for ever: make no answer. I wish, among the variety of acquaintance, you may find some one to please you; and can't help the vanity of thinking, should you try them all, you won't find one that will be so sincere in their treatment, though a thousand more deserving, and every one happier.' Vol. i. pp. 219-221.

These are certainly very uncommon productions for a young lady of twenty; and indicate a strength and elevation of character, that does not always appear in her gayer and more ostentatious performances. Mr. Wortley was convinced and re-assured by them; and they were married in 1712. The concluding part of the first volume contains her letters to him for the two following years. There is not much tenderness in these letters, nor very much interest indeed of any kind. Mr. Wortley appears to have been rather indolent and unambitious; and Lady Mary takes it upon her, with all delicacy and judicious management however, to stir him up to some degree of activity and exertion. There is a good deal of election news and small politics in these epistles. The best of them, we think is the following exhortation to impudence.

'I am glad you think of serving your friends. I hope it will put you in mind of serving yourself. I need not enlarge upon the advantages of money; every thing we see, and every thing we hear, puts us in remembrance of it. If it were possible to restore liberty to your country, or limit the encroachments of the prerogative, by reducing yourself to a garret, I should be pleased to share so glorious a poverty with you; but, as the world is, and will be, 'tis a sort of duty to be rich, that it may be in one's power to do good; riches being another word for power; towards the obtaining of which, the first necessary qualification is impudence, and (as Demosthenes said of pronunciation in oratory) the second is impudence, and the third, still, impudence. No modest man ever did, or ever will make his fortune. Your friend Lord Halifax, R. Walpole, and all other remarkable instances of quick advancement, have been remarkably impudent. The Ministry is like a play at court; there's a little door to get in, and a great crowd without, shoving and thrusting who shall be foremost; people who knock others with their elbows, disregard a little kick of the shins, and still thrust heartily forwards, are sure of a good place. Your modest man stands behind in the crowd, is shoved about by every body, his clothes torn, almost squeezed to death, and sees a thousand get in before him, that don't make so good a figure as himself.

'I don't say it is impossible for an impudent man not to rise in the world; but a moderate merit, with a large share of impudence, is more probable to be advanced, than the greatest qualifications without it.

'If this letter is impertinent, it is founded upon an opinion of your merit, which, if it is a mistake, I would not be undeceived. It is my interest to believe (as I do) that you deserve every thing, and are capable of every thing; but nobody else will believe it, if they see you get nothing.' Vol. i. pp. 250-252.

To the end of this volume is annexed a translation of the Enchiridion of Epictetus, executed by Lady Mary, when she was under twenty years of age. We have only read the first paragraph of it, in which we see, that 'opinion, appetite, aversion, desire, &c. are said to be altogether *in our power*;' which is evidently a false translation: Epictetus says only, that these things are our proper business and concern.

The second volume, and a part of the third, are occupied with those charming letters, written during Mr. Wortley's embassy to Constantinople, upon which the literary reputation of Lady Mary has hitherto been exclusively founded. It would not become us to say any thing of productions which have so long engaged the admiration of the public. The grace and vivacity, the ease and conciseness of the narrative, and the description which they contain, still remain unrivalled we think, by any epistolary compositions in our language, and are but slightly shaded by a sprinkling of obsolete tittle-tattle, or womanish vanity and affectation. The authenticity of these letters, though at one time disputed, has not lately been called in question; but the secret history of their publication has never, we believe, been laid before the public. The editor of this collection, from the original papers, gives the following account of it:

'In the later periods of Lady Mary's life, she employed her leisure in collecting the copies of the letters she had written during Mr. Wortley's embassy, and had transcribed them herself, in two small volumes in quarto. They were, without doubt, sometimes shewn to her literary friends. Upon her return to England for the last time, in 1761, she gave these books to a Mr. Sowden, a clergymen at Rotterdam, and wrote the subjoined memorandum on the cover of them. "These two volumes are given to the Reverend Benjamin Sowden, minister at Rotterdam, to be disposed of as he thinks proper. This is the will and design of M. WORTLEY MONTAGU, December 11, 1761."

'After her death, the late Earl of Bute commissioned a gentleman to procure them, and to offer Mr. Sowden a considerable remuneration, which he accepted. Much to the surprise of that nobleman and Lady Bute, the manuscripts were scarcely safe in England, when three volumes of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters were published by Beckett; and it has since appeared, that Mr. Cleland was the editor. The same gentleman, who had negociated before, was again dispatched to Holland, and could gain no farther intelligence from Mr. Sowden, than that a short time before he parted with the MSS. two English gen-

tlemen called on him to see the letters, and obtained their request. They had previously contrived that Mr. Sowden should be called away during their perusal; and he found on his return that they had disappeared with the books. Their residence was unknown to him; but on the next day they brought back the precious deposit, with many apologies. It may be fairly presumed, that the intervening night was consumed in copying these Letters by several amanuenses.' Vol. i. pp. 29—32.

A fourth volume of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters published in the same form in 1767, appears now to have been a fabrication of Cleland's, as the corresponding MSS. have not been found among her Ladyship's papers, or in the hands of her correspondents.

To the accuracy of her local descriptions, and the justness of her representations of oriental manners, Mr. Dallaway, who followed her footsteps at the distance of eighty years, and resided for several months in the very palace which she had occupied at Pera, bears a decided and respectable testimony; and in vindication of her veracity in describing the interior of the seraglio, into which no Christian is now permitted to enter, he observes that the Sultan Achmed the Third was notoriously very regardless of the injunctions of the Koran, and that her Ladyship's visits were paid while the Court was in a retirement, that enabled him to dispense with many ceremonies. We do not observe any difference between these letters in the present edition, and in the common copies, except that the names of Lady Mary's correspondents are now given at full length, and short notices of their families subjoined upon their first introduction. At page 89. of the third volume, there are also two short letters or rather notes for the Countess of Pembroke, that have not hitherto been made public; and Mr. Pope's letter, describing the death of the two rural lovers by lightning, is here given at full length; while the former editions only contained her Ladyship's answer; in which we have always thought that her desire to be smart and witty, has intruded itself a little ungracefully into the place of a more amiable feeling.

The next series of letters, consists of those written to her sister the Countess of Mar, from 1723 to 1727. These Letters have at least as much vivacity, wit, and sarcasm, as any that have been already published; and though they contain little but the anecdotes and scandal of the time, will long continue to be read and admired for the brilliancy and facility of the composition. Though Lady Mary is excessively entertaining in this correspondence, we cannot say, however, that she is either very amiable, or very interesting; there is rather a negation of good affection, we think throughout, and a certain cold hearted levi-

ty, that borders sometimes upon misanthropy, and sometimes on indecency. The style of the following extracts, however, we are afraid has been for some time a dead language.

'I made a sort of resolution at the beginning of my letter, not to trouble you with the mention of what passes here, since you receive it with so much coldness. But I find it is impossible to forbear telling you the metamorphoses of some of your acquaintance, which appear as wondrous to me as any in Ovid. Would any one believe that lady H*****ss is a beauty, and in love? and that Mrs. Anastasia Robinson is at the same time a prude and a kept mistress? and these things in spite of nature and fortune. The first of these ladies is tenderly attached to the polite Mr. M***, and sunk in all the joys of happy love, notwithstanding she wants the use of her two hands by a rheumatism, and he has an arm that he cannot move. I wish I could tell you the particulars of this amour, which seems to me as curious as that between two oysters, and as well worth the serious attention of the naturalists. The second heroine has engaged half the town in arms, from the nicety of her virtue, which was not able to bear the too near approach of Senesino in the opera; and her condescendence in her accepting of Lord Peterborough for her champion, who has signalized both his love and courage upon this occasion in as many instances as ever Don Quixote did for Dulcinea. Poor Senesino, like a vanquished giant, was forced to confess upon his knees that Anastasia was a nonpareil of virtue and beauty. Lord Stanhope, as dwarf to the said giant, joked on his side, and was challenged for his pains. Lord Delawar was Lord Peterborough's second; my lady miscarried—the whole town divided into parties on this important point. Innumerable have been the disorders between the two sexes on so great an account, besides half the House of Peers being put under an arrest. By the providence of Heaven, and the wise cares of his Majesty, no bloodshed ensued. However, things are now tolerably accommodated; and the fair lady rides through the town in the shining berlin of her hero, not to reckon the more solid advantages of 100l. a-month, which 'tis said he allows her. I will send you a letter by the Count Caylus, whom, if you do not know already, you will thank me for introducing to you. He is a Frenchman, and no fop; which, beside the curiosity of it, is one of the prettiest things in the world.' Vol. iii. pp. 120-122.

'I write to you at this time piping-hot from the birth night; my brain warmed with all the agreeable ideas that fine clothes, fine gentlemen, brisk tunes, and lively dances, can raise there. It is to be hoped that my letter will entertain you; at least you will certainly have the freshest account of all passages on that glorious day. First you must know that I led up the ball, which you'll stare at; but what is more, I believe in my conscience I made one of the best figures there; to say truth, people are growing so extravagantly ugly, that we old beauties are forced to come out on show-days, to keep the court in countenance. I saw Mrs. Murray there, through whose hands this epistle will be conveyed; I do not know whether she will make the same compliment to

you that I do. Mrs. West was with her, who is a great prude, having but two lovers at a time—I think those are Lord Haddington and Mr. Lindsay; the one for use, the other for show.

'The world improves in one virtue to a violent degree; I mean plain-dealing. Hypocrisy being, as the Scripture declares, a damnable sin, I hope our publicans and sinners will be saved by the open profession of the contrary virtue. I was told by a very good author, who is deep in the secret, that at this very minute there is a bill cooking-up at a hunting seat in Norfolk, to have *not* taken out of the commandments and clapped into the creed, the ensuing session of Parliament.' It is certain it might be carried on with great ease, the world being entirely '*revenue du bagatelle*,' and honour, virtue, reputation, &c. which we used to hear of in our nursery, is as much laid aside and forgotten as crumpled ribands. To speak plainly, I am very sorry for the forlorn state of matrimony, which is as much ridiculed by our young ladies as it used to be by young fellows: in short, both sexes have found the inconveniences of it, and the appellation of rake is as genteel in a woman as a man of quality: it is no scandal to say Miss ———, the maid of honour, looks very well now she is out again, and poor Biddy Noel has never been quite well since her last confinement. You may imagine we married women look very silly—we have nothing to excuse ourselves, but that it was done a great while ago, and we were very young when we did it.' Vol. iii. pp. 142-145.

'Sixpenny-worth of common sense, divided among a whole nation, would make our lives roll away glibly enough—but then we make laws and we follow customs. By the first we cut off our own pleasures, and by the second we are answerable for the faults and extravagancies of others. All these things, and five hundred more, convince me, (as I have the most profound veneration for the Author of Nature), I am satisfied I have been one of *the condemned* ever since I was born—and in submission to the Divine justice, I have no doubt but I deserved it in some pre-existent state. I will still hope that I am only in purgatory; and that after whining and pining a certain number of years, I shall be translated to some more happy sphere, where virtue will be natural, and custom reasonable; that is, in short, where common sense will reign. I grow very devout, as you see; and place all my hopes in the next life, being totally persuaded of the nothingness of this. Don't you remember how miserable we were in the little parlour, at Thoresby? we then thought marrying would put us at once into possession of all we wanted. Then came—— though, after all, I am still of opinion, that it is extremely silly to submit to ill-fortune. One should pluck up a spirit, and live upon cordials when one can have no other nourishment. These are my present endeavours, and I run about, though I have five thousand pins and needles in my heart. I try to console myself with a small damsel, who is at present every thing I like—but, alas! she is yet in a white frock. At fourteen she may run away with the butler—there's one of the blessed effects of disappointment; you are not only hurt by the thing present, but it cuts off all future hopes, and makes your very expectations melancholy. *Quelle vie!*' Vol. iii, pp. 178-180.

'I cannot deny but that I was very well diverted on the coronation day. I saw the procession much at my ease, in a house which I filled with my own company, and then got into Westminster-Hall without trouble, where it was very entertaining to observe the variety of airs that all meant the same thing. The business of every walker there was to conceal vanity and gain admiration. For these purposes some languished, and others strutted – but a visible satisfaction was diffused over every countenance, as soon as the coronet was clapped on the head. But she that drew the greatest number of eyes, was indisputably Lady Orkney. She exposed behind, a mixture of fat and wrinkles; and before, a considerable protuberance, which preceded her. Add to this, the inimitable roll of her eyes, and her grey hairs, which by good fortune stood directly upright, and 'tis impossible to imagine a more delightful spectacle. She had embellished all this with considerable magnificence, which made her look as big again as usual—and I should have thought her one of the largest things of God's making, if my Lady St. J***n had not displayed all her charms in honour of the day. The poor Dutchess of M***se crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face; and my Lady P***nd (who has fallen away since her dismission from Court) represented very finely an Egyptian mummy embroidered over with hieroglyphics. In general, I could not perceive but that the old were as well pleased as the young; and I, who dread growing wise more than any thing in the world, was overjoyed to find that one can never outlive one's vanity. I have never received the long letter you talk of, and am afraid that you have only fancied that you wrote it.'—Vol. iii. pp. 181-183.

In spite of all this gaiety, Lady Mary does not appear to have been happy. Her discreet biographer is silent upon the subject of her connubial felicity; and we have no desire to revive forgotten scandal—but it is a fact, which cannot be omitted, that her Ladyship went abroad without her husband, on account of bad health, in 1739, and did not return to England till she heard of his death in 1761. Whatever was the cause of their separation, however, it did not produce any open rupture between them; and she seems to have corresponded with him very regularly for the first ten years of her absence. These letters, which occupy the latter part of the third volume, and the beginning of the fourth, are by no means so captivating as any of the preceding series. They contain but little wit, and no confidential or striking reflections; they are filled up with accounts of her health and her journies, with short and general notices of any extraordinary customs she meets with, and little scraps of stale politics picked up in the petty courts of Italy. They are cold, in short, without being formal—and are gloomy and constrained when compared with those that were spontaneously written to show her wit, or her affection to her correspondents. She seems extremely anx-

ious to impress her husband with an exalted idea of the honours and distinction with which she was every where received—and really seems more elated and surprised than we should have expected the daughter of an English Duke to be, with the attentions that were shewn her by the noblesse of Venice, in particular.—From this correspondence, we do not think it necessary to make any extract.

The last series of letters, which extends to the middle of the fifth volume, and comes down to the year 1761, consists of those that were addressed by Lady Mary, during her residence abroad, to her daughter the Countess of Bute. These letters, though somewhat less brilliant than those to the Countess of Mar, have more heat and affection in them, than any other of her Ladyship's productions; and abound in lively and judicious reflections. They indicate at the same time a very great share of vanity, and that kind of contempt and indifference for the world, into which the veterans of fashion are most apt to sink. With the exception of her daughter, and her children, Lady Mary appears to have cared nothing for any human being—and rather to have beguiled the days of her declining life with every sort of amusement, than to have soothed them with affection or friendship. After boasting of the intimacy in which she lived with all the considerable people in her neighbourhood, she adds, in one of her letters, 'The people I see here make no more impression on my mind than the figures on the tapestry, while they are before my eyes. I know one is clothed in blue, and another in red; but out of sight they are so entirely out of memory, that I hardly remember whether they are tall or short.'

The following reflections upon an Italian story, exactly like that of Pamela, are very much in character:

'In my opinion, all these adventures proceed from artifice on one side, and weakness on the other. An honest, tender mind, is often betrayed to ruin by the charms that make the fortune of a designing head, which, when joined with a beautiful face, can never fail of advancement, except barred by a wise mother, who locks up her daughters from view till nobody cares to look on them. My poor friend, the Dutchess of Bolton, was educated in solitude, with some choice of books, by a saint-like governess: crammed with virtue and good qualities, she thought it impossible not to find gratitude, though she failed to give passion; and upon this plan threw away her estate, was despised by her husband, and laughed at by the public. Polly, bred in an ale-house, and produced on the stage, has obtained wealth and title, and found the way to be esteemed. So useful is early experience; without it, half of life is dissipated in correcting the errors that we have been taught to receive as indisputable truths.' Vol. iv. pp. 119-120.

There is some acrimony, and some power of reviling, in the following extract.

'I have only had time to read Lord Orrery's work, which has extremely entertained, and not at all surprised me, having the honour of being acquainted with him, and know him for one of those danglers after wit, who, like those after beauty, spend their time in humbly admiring, and are happy in being permitted to attend, though they are laughed at, and only encouraged to gratify the insatiate vanity of those professed wits and beauties, who aim at being publicly distinguished in those characters. Dean Swift, by his Lordship's own account, was so intoxicated with the love of flattery, he sought it amongst the lowest of people, and the silliest of women—and was never so well pleased with any companions as those that worshipped him, while he insulted them. His character seems to me a parallel with that of Caligula; and had he had the same power, would have made the same use of it. That Emperor erected a temple to himself, where he was his own high-priest, preferred his horse to the highest honours in the state, professed enmity to the human race, and at last lost his life by a nasty jest on one of his inferiors, which I dare say Swift would have made in his place. There can be no worse picture made of the Doctor's morals than he has given us himself in the letters printed by Pope. We see him vain, trifling, ungrateful to the memory of his patron, that of Lord Oxford, making a servile court where he had any interested views, and meanly abusive when they were disappointed; and, as he says, (in his own phrase), flying in the face of mankind, in company with his adorer Pope. It is pleasant to consider, that had it not been for the good nature of these very mortals they contemn, these two superior beings were entitled, by their birth and hereditary fortune, to be only a couple of link boys. I am of opinion their friendship would have continued, though they had remained in the same kingdom: it had a very strong foundation—the love of flattery on one side, and the love of money on the other. Pope courted with the utmost assiduity all the old men from whom he could hope a legacy, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Peterborough, Sir G. Kneller, Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Wycherly, Mr. Congreve, Lord Harcourt, &c. and I do not doubt projected to sweep the Dean's whole inheritance, if he could have persuaded him to throw up his deanery, and come to die in his house—and his generral preaching against money was meant to induce people to throw it away, that he might pick it up. There cannot be a stronger proof of his being capable of any action for the sake of gain, than publishing his literary correspondence, which lays open such a mixture of dulness and iniquity, that one would imagine it visible even to his most passionate admirers.' Vol. iv. pp. 142-147.

Some of the following reflections will appear prophetic to some people—and we really did not expect to find them under the date of 1753.

'The confounding of all ranks, and making a jest of order, has long been growing in England—and I perceive by the books you sent me, has made a very considerable progress. The heroes and heroines of the age, are coblers and kitchen wenches. Perhaps you will say, I should

not take my ideas of the manners of the times from such trifling authors: but it is more truly be found among them, than from any historian: as they write merely to get money, they always fall into the notions that are most acceptable to the present taste. It has long been the endeavour of our English writers, to represent people of quality as the vilest and silliest part of the nation, being (generally) very low born themselves. I am not surprised at their propagating this doctrine; but I am much mistaken if this levelling principle does not, one day or other, break out in fatal consequences to the public, as it has already done in many private families.' Vol. iv. pp. 223-224.

She is not quite so fortunate in her remarks on Dr. Johnson, though the conclusion of the extract is very judicious.

'The Rambler is certainly a strong misnomer; he always plods in the beaten road of his predecessors, following the Spectator (with the same pace a pack-horse would do a hunter) in the style that is proper to lengthen a paper. These writers may, perhaps, be of service to the public, which is saying a great deal in their favour. There are numbers of both sexes who never read any thing but such productions, and cannot spare time, from doing nothing, to go through a sixpenny pamphlet. Such gentle readers may be improved by a moral hint, which, though repeated over and over, from generation to generation, they never heard in their lives. I should be glad to know the name of this laborious author. H. Fielding has given a true picture of himself and his first wife, in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Booth, some compliments to his own figure excepted; and I am persuaded, several of the incidents he mentions are real matters of fact. I wonder he does not perceive Tom Jones and Mr. Booth are sorry scoundrels. All this sort of books have the same fault, which I cannot easily pardon, being very mischievous. They place a merit in extravagant passions, and encourage young people to hope for impossible events, to draw them out of the misery they choose to plunge themselves into, expecting legacies from unknown relations, and generous benefactors to distressed virtue, as much out of nature as fairy treasures.' Vol. iv. pp. 259-260.

The idea of the following image, we believe, is not quite new; but it is expressed in a very lively and striking manner.

'The world is past its infancy, and will no longer be contented with spoon meat. A collective body of men make a gradual progress in understanding, like that of a single individual. When I reflect on the vast increase of useful, as well as speculative knowledge, the last three hundred years has produced, and that the peasants of this age have more conveniences than the first Emperors of Rome had any notion of, I imagine we are now arrived at that period which answers to fifteen. I cannot think we are older, when I recollect the many palpable follies which are still (almost) universally persisted in. I place that of war as senseless as the boxing of school-boys; and whenever we come to man's estate, (perhaps a thousand years hence), I do not doubt it will appear as ridiculous as the pranks of

unlucky lads. Several discoveries will then be made, and several truths made clear, of which we have now no more idea than the ancients had of the circulation of the blood, or the optics of Sir Isaac Newton.' Vol. v. pp. 15-16.

After observing that, in a preceding letter, her Ladyship declares, that 'it is eleven years since she saw herself in a glass, being so little pleased with the figure she was then beginning to make in it,' we shall close these extracts with the following more favourable account of her philosophy.

'I no more expect to arrive at the age of the Duchess of Marlborough, than to that of Methusalem; neither do I desire it. I have long thought myself useless to the world. I have seen one generation pass away, and it is gone; for I think there are very few of those left that flourished in my youth. You will perhaps call these melancholy reflections: they are not so. There is a quiet after the abandoning of pursuits, something like the rest that follows a laborious day. I tell you this for your comfort. It was formerly a terrifying view to me, that I should one day be an old woman. I now find that nature has provided pleasures for every state. Those are only unhappy who will not be contented with what she gives, but strive to break through her laws, by affecting a perpetuity of youth, which appears to me as little desirable at present as the babies do to you, that were the delight of your infancy. I am at the end of my paper, which shortens the sermon.' Vol. iv. pp. 314—315.

Upon the death of Mr Wortley in 1761, Lady Mary returned to England, and died there in October 1762, in the 73d year of her age. From the large extracts which we have been tempted to make from her correspondence, our readers will easily be enabled to judge of the character and genius of this extraordinary woman. A little spoiled by flattery, and not altogether 'undebauched by the world,' she seems to have possessed a masculine solidity of understanding, great liveliness of fancy, and such powers of observation and discrimination of character, as to give her opinions great authority on all the ordinary subjects of practical manners and conduct. After her marriage, she seems to have abandoned all idea of laborious or regular study, and to have been raised to the station of a literary character merely by her vivacity, and her love of amusement and anecdote. The great charm of her letters is certainly the extreme ease and facility with which every thing is expressed, the brevity and rapidity of her representations, and the elegant simplicity of her diction. While they unite almost all the qualities of a good style, there is nothing of the professed author in them: nothing that seems to have been composed, or to have engaged the admiration of the writer. She appears to be quite unconscious either of merit or of exertion in what she is doing; and never stops to bring out a

thought, or to turn an expression with the cunning of a practised rhetorician. The letters from Turkey will probably be more universally read than any of those that are now given for the first time to the public; because the subject commands a wider and more permanent interest, than the personalities and unconnected remarks with which the rest of the correspondence is filled. At the same time, the love of scandal and of private history is so great, that these letters will be highly relished, as long as the names they contain are remembered; and then they will become curious and interesting, as exhibiting a truer picture of the manners and fashions of the time, than is to be found in any other publication.

The Fifth Volume contains also her Ladyship's poems, and two or three trifling papers that are entitled her Essays. Poetry, at least the polite and witty sort of poetry, which Lady Mary has attempted, is much more of an art than prose-writing. We are trained to the latter, by the conversation of good society; but the former seems always to require a good deal of patient labour and application. This her Ladyship appears to have disdained; and accordingly, her poetry, though abounding in lively conceptions, is already consigned to that oblivion in which mediocrity is destined, by an irrevocable sentence, to slumber till the end of the world. The Essays are extremely insignificant, and have no other merit, that we can discover, but that they are very few and very short.

Of Lady Mary's friendship and subsequent rupture with Pope, we have not thought it necessary to say any thing, both because we are of opinion that no new lights are thrown upon it by this publication, and because we have no desire to awaken forgotten scandals by so idle a controverey. Pope was undoubtedly a flatterer, and was undoubtedly sufficiently irritable and vindictive: but whether his rancour was stimulated upon this occasion by nothing but caprice and jealousy, and whether he was the inventor or the echo of the imputations to which he has given notoriety we do not pretend to determine. Lady Mary's character was certainly deficient in that cautious delicacy which is the best guardian of female reputation; and there seems to have been in her conduct something of that intrepidity which naturally gives rise to misconstruction, by setting at defiance the maxims of ordinary discretion.

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